

T H E B A Y Ā N A L - A D Y Ā N

of

ABU 'L-MA'ĀLĪ MUḤAMMAD IBN'UBAYD ALLĀH:

Translation, Introduction and Notes by:

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Submitted to the University of London, School of  
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of Philosophy.

June, 1949.

ABSTRACT OF THE PH.D. THESIS TO BE PRESENTED  
IN JUNE, 1949, BY: M.A.S. KAFABI

The "Bayān al-Adyān" (the Exposition of Religions) of Abu 'l-Ma'ālī Muhammad b. 'Ubayd Allāh: Translation, Introduction and Notes.

The Bayān al-Adyān is the earliest Persian work which we have on religions in general and one of the earliest Muslim works on this subject. It was written in 485 A.H. (1092 A.D.).

The translation is based on 'Abbās Iqbāl's edition, Teheran, 1934, with some additions which I found lacking from the text when comparing it with the original Ms.

The introduction contains a general study of the text.

The notes are an attempt to elucidate and clarify this concise text. They are meant to be a full commentary on it. They are of two kinds:

- (a) those written on non-Muslim religions,
- (b) those written on Muslim sects.

In (a), I have attempted to give some aspects of the Muslim knowledge of these religions, as presented by the early Muslim authors. When discussing (b) I have attempted to use books written by members of each particular sect, but in the absence of such books other available sources had to be used. Modern studies have been referred to in both sections when necessary.

Beside this, I have prepared for publication a treatise on Zaydi theology entitled, "Miṣbāḥ ul-'Ulūm fi Ma'rifat al-Hayy al-Qayyūm" written by a Zaydi called Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan ar-Raṣṣāṣ (d. 600 or 656 A.H.) by collating six Mss. of it, preserved in the British Museum.

I have also produced a chapter on the rise of Khārijism from a book entitled "al-Kaṣḥ wa 'l-Bayān" written by an Ibādī Khārijī called Abu Sa'īd al-Qalḥātī. This work is a unique M.S. in the British Museum. The chapter referred to above is given in an abbreviated English translation because the text is corrupt in some places. As far as I know, this is the first time an account of Khārijism, written by a Khārijī, has been published.

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## P R E F A C E.

First of all I must express my thanks to Professor A. Guillaume to whose help, guidance and encouragement, always so kindly and generously given, I owe so much.

My thanks are also due to Dr. A. Lambton for reading the script of my translation of the Bayān al-Adyān and making some valuable suggestions; and to Dr. B. Lewis for some valuable references which he brought to my notice.

I must also gratefully acknowledge the unfailing courtesy and assistance shown to me by the staffs of the School of Oriental and African Studies Library, the British Museum and the Commonwealth Relations Office Library,

Arabic and Persian letters are transliterated in the same way as in the Encyclopaedia of Islam except for the Arabic "Jīm" which is transliterated by "J" and "Qāf" which is transliterated by "Q".

M. Kafafi.

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## I N T R O D U C T I O N .

Charles Schefer published in 1882 the book on religions entitled "Bayān al-Adyān" by Abu 'l-Ma'ālī Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd Allah.<sup>(1)</sup> He attached to it some notes dealing with some points of the book.<sup>(2)</sup>

Later Italo Pizzi published an Italian translation of the chapter on pre-Islamic religions with some comments in "Atti della R. Accademia delle scienze di Torino (1903)".

In 1911, Arthur Christensen published an article in *Le Monde Oriental* which contains some critical remarks on the book<sup>(3)</sup> and later he published a Danish translation of it in "Copenhagen: Philologisk-Historisk Samfund. Studier fra Sprong-og Oldtidsforskning, etc. N.101."

In 1926, Henri Massé published a French translation of the book in "Revue de l'Histoire des Religions, 94, 1926, (p.17-75)".

Lastly 'Abbās Iqbāl issued a new edition of the

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(1) *Christomathie Persane*, I, p.132f (of the Persian text)

(2) *Ibid*, 139-189. (of the French text).

(3) Vol.V, 1911, p.205-216.



## II.

Bayān al-Adyān<sup>(1)</sup> in which he attempted to correct many of the mistakes which Schefer's edition contained.

The Bayān al-Adyān of Abu 'l-Ma'ālī is the earliest Persian book on religions which we have. It is one of the earliest Muslim books which reached us on this subject.

Maqdisī who wrote in 355 A.H. included in his history a chapter on the religions of the world<sup>(2)</sup> and another chapter on the Muslim sects.<sup>(3)</sup> He dealt with them in an objective way.

Later than Maqdisī's work is Ibn Ḥazm's book on religions. Ibn Ḥazm was subjective in his book and drowned the information which he gave about these religions in his criticism of them. Apart from these two works, I do not know of any book on religions in general earlier than the book of Abu 'l-Ma'ālī. We are told by the latter author that he finished his work 230 lunar years after the birth of the Twelfth Imam of the Twelver Shī'ah which took place in 255 A.H.<sup>(4)</sup> Thus the book was completed in 485 A.H.

None of the biographical or bibliographical dictionaries

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(1) Tehran, 1934.

(2) Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī: al-Bad' wa 't-Tarīkh, Vol. IV, p.1f.

(3) Ibid, vol.V, p.121.

(4) Bayān al-Adyān, Iqbāl's ed., p.44.

### III.

which we have contain any information about this author.

But in his introduction, the author himself tells us that he wrote the book after a discussion on pre-Islamic and Islamic religions which took place in the court of a certain ruler.<sup>(1)</sup> In the book there are two allusions to Ghaznah,

viz: that there was a copy of Arjank-i Mānī in the libraries of Ghaznah<sup>(2)</sup> and that, in this city there was a missionary of the Egyptians (the Faṭimids) called Muḥammad Adīb who, according to him, caused many people to lose their way.<sup>(3)</sup> From these statements Schefer drew the conclusion that Abu 'l-Ma'ālī must have written his book in Ghaznah and that the ruler referred to by him must have been Sultan Jalāl ud-Dīn Mas'ūd, (482-492 A.H.).<sup>(4)</sup>

The book as we have it now is in an incomplete form. The author in his introduction summed up the contents of his book as follows:-

Chapter I : on showing that most of the people, in all times and places, acknowledged and still acknowledge the Creator.

Chapter II : on the exposition of the creeds that were followed before Islam.

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(1) Ibid, p.2.

(2) Ibid, p.17.

(3) Ibid, p.39.

(4) Christomathie Persane, I, 133 (of the French Text)

#### IV.

Chapter III: on the Tradition (relating) that the Prophet, peace be on him said: "After me, my community will be split into seventy-three sects" its cause, the authority in attributing it (to the Prophet), its explanation and meaning.

Chapter IV : on the exposition of the sects of Islam, presenting the doctrine of each and an explanation of their titles in detail.

Chapter V : on the stories and the strange things about a group of people who appeared, and made claim to the impossible, some of whom pretended to be God and others to be Prophets.

Chapter V and a part of Chapter IV are missing from the present text of the book. Of the eight main sects of Islam, which are enumerated by him in Chapter III, four sects only were discussed. It can also be known from the abrupt ending of the book that something is missing from it especially when we remark that the author was careful to say what he was going to do at the beginning of each chapter and to state what he had done at its end.

But this book seems to have survived in a more complete form till quite recent times. Muhammad Bahbahānī (1144-1216 A.H.) states in his "Risālah-i Khayrātiyya (written



between 1211 and 1214) that Abu 'l-Ma'ālī considered the Sūfīs as groups of the Sunnīs and showed the absurdity of their doctrine. He refers the reader to what Abu 'l-Ma'ālī wrote about them and especially on Ḥusayn b. Mansūr al-Hallāj. The Sūfīs are the seventh sect mentioned in Abu 'l-Ma'ālī's list in Chapter III. Bahbahānī also describes the copy of Abu 'l-Ma'ālī's book to which he referred as having been an early one which seemed to have been written in the author's own hand.<sup>(1)</sup>

To what sect did Abu 'l-Ma'ālī belong?

In his introduction the author praised Sunnism and called it the only right creed. He also usually mentions the first three caliphs with respect.

Muḥammad Bahbahānī states that the author practised taqiyyah (dissimulation) and did not reveal his real belief.<sup>(2)</sup> This statement, although it is made by an Imāmī writer who might not have liked the idea that one of the descendants of 'Alī was a Sunnī, is correct. Reading the book I have arrived at the conclusion that the author was a Shī'ī hiding his belief. Later I came across the article of Christensen in *Le Monde Oriental*<sup>(3)</sup> and there he also arrived at the same conclusion.

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(1) *Risālah-i Khayrātiyya*, f.241a, Brit.Mus.Ms., 24411.

(2) *Ibid.*

(3) See above.

## VI.

Abu 'l-Ma'ālī was a descendant of 'Alī b. Abī Tālib and it is unlikely that he was against the supporters of his ancestors. Furthermore there are some indirect indications of this fact.

1. The tradition to which he devoted a whole chapter is a Shī'ī one. It is their chief proof of 'Alī's right to the Imamate. The author combined this tradition with the one in which the Prophet is stated to have said that his community would be split into seventy-three sects all of which would go to Hell except one. The sect which is saved is, according to the tradition as related by Abu 'l-Ma'ālī, 'Alī and his supporters.

2. When Abu 'l-Ma'ālī discussed the Twelver Shī'ah he stated that all the Imams were killed, thus repeating the story of the martyrdom of the Imams insisted on by the Shī'ah.<sup>(1)</sup>

3. He considered the birth of the Twelfth Imam, the Mahdī, a great event and dated his book by it while even the fact that he was born is doubted by the Sunnīs and other groups of the Shī'ah.

Furthermore Christensen gives as proofs that Abu 'l-Ma'ālī was a Shī'ī the fact that his account of the Shī'ah is much more detailed than that of the Sunnah and the

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(1) Bayān al-Adyān, p<sup>1</sup>42,43.



## VII.

Muṭazilah and the fact that he defended the cause of ʿAlī against the Khawārij in his chapter on the latter.<sup>(1)</sup>

But these two facts cannot be taken as strong evidence.

The books of Sunnī writers dealing with religious sects devote more space to the Shīʿah than to the Sunnah owing to the fact that the number of heretical sects that belonged to the Shīʿah was very great. A look at Ashʿarī's book "Maqālāt al-Islāmiyyīn" or at Shahrastānī's book "al-Milal" shows us that these two authors, in spite of their Sunnism, devoted much less space to the beliefs of the Sunnah than to the beliefs of the Shīʿah.

As to Abu ʿl-Maʿālī's defence of ʿAlī against the Khārijīs there is no particular Shīʿī colour in it as the Sunnīs are no less enthusiastic in defending ʿAlī against the Khawārij than the Shīʿah, and the accounts of Khārijism given by Baghdādī and Shahrastānī provide a clear proof of this.

The Bayān al-Adyān, although it is much smaller than other books dealing with religious sects, contains some information which is not available in these larger books. We find, for example, in the small section which he devoted to the Magians some information which is not to be found in Ibn Hazm's or Shahrastānī's book.

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(1) Le Monde Oriental, V, 1911, p.209.

## VIII.

In the Muslim part of the book the author gives us much more information on the Twelver Shī'ah than is given in the books of Ash'arī, Baghdādī, Ibn Ḥazm and Shahrastānī.

In dealing with the sects which they have discussed Muslim Heresiographers based their books on the tradition mentioned above, stating that the Prophet had said that his community would be split into seventy-three sects. This tradition forms the basis of our author's discussion of Muslim sects. Ibn Ḥazm stated that it is of a doubtful authority. <sup>(1)</sup>

Abu 'l-Ma'ālī was mostly objective in his discussion. He mentioned the beliefs of the different sects as he knew them but no arguments against these beliefs. He may here and there utter an imprecation against a sect to which is attributed a doctrine which he considered extravagant.

The text of the book as produced by Schefer contains many mistakes. Many of these mistakes have been repeated in the works based on it which were mentioned above although some emendations have been made by Christensen and Massé.

Abbās Iqbal's edition is much more correct than Schefer's edition. I collated it with the original Manuscript in the

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(1) Fiṣal, 3, 248.



## IX.

Bibliothèque Nationale last summer and a few additions to the text resulted from this collation. I have suggested further emendations in my notes which, it is hoped, will render the text as correct as possible.

This translation is based on Abbās Iqbāl's edition. It will be seen that it differs from Massé's translation in many places. As I have illustrated the whole book with notes developing ideas and doctrines which have been discussed, I will not waste any space in defending my translation.

All the works that were done on the book dealt with some parts of it. At the same time, the notes given in these works are very brief. None of them attempted at any serious discussion of the Muslim part of the book.

The object of the present treatise is as follows:

1. It comments on the pre-Islamic religions mentioned in the Bayān al-Adyān, giving some aspects of Muslim knowledge of these religions as represented in the books of the authors who wrote in the first five centuries of Islam. Later authorities which were on the whole compiled from earlier ones have been referred to also. In some cases it was found more useful to write a whole chapter on that creed or the other, thus supplementing the author's information with contemporary information from other authorities. Thus, for example, a whole chapter on the doctrine of Transmigration

## X.

was written. A full commentary on the practices of the Zoroastrians, compared with the practices of the modern Parsis was given, and besides this, their legal position under the rule of Islam was discussed. The Persian fable on the start of idolatry was compared with parallel fables of the Arabs, the Indians and the Sabians and analysed according to the modern scholarship<sup>1</sup>. The doctrines of the pre-Islamic Arabs have been discussed in some detail, etc.

2. The notes on the Muslim part of the book are a contribution to the study of Muslim theology. In ~~them~~ the main beliefs of the Sunnīs and the Twelver Shī'ah have been studied. The latter were very seldom discussed in the books on Muslim theology written by modern scholars, especially the English ones. An article about the Zaydīs and a critical study of our author's account of Ismā'ilism have been written. Heretical sects of the Shī'ah which have not been studied in the standard works like the Encyclopaedia of Islam and Friedländer's<sup>(1)</sup> treatise, have also been studied here.

Furthermore a complete Zaydī creed by a Zaydī Yamānī has been prepared for publication. As far as I know no such creed has ever been published in Europe.

On the Khawārij a new account of Khārijism written by

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(1) See Bibliography.

## XI.

a Khārījī Ibadī has been brought to light and translated and the origins of the information given in it traced in the early reports of Muslim historians. This is the first time an account of Khārījism written by a Khārījī has ever been published.

Finally it is hoped that the commentary attached to the Bayān al-Adyān will not only serve as a guide in reading that book but also as a guide in reading Muslim books on religious sects and doctrines treating the same religions and sects mentioned in this book.



The BAYAN al-ADYAN

Translation

THE EXPOSITION OF RELIGIONS.

In the name of God, the Compassionate, the Merciful. 1

Thanks be to God, the most glorious, whose  
 beneficence is all-comprehensive, for making us 3  
 acquainted with His essence, and for revealing to our  
 hearts the way to knowledge of Him, so that we became  
 assured that the qualities of perfection appertain to 6  
 Him, because His greatness has no limits, and His  
 beginning and end have neither start nor conclusion.  
 It is not lawful to attribute to Him similarity, shape 9  
 or place. He is the Creator of water, fire, earth  
 and air, and the Creator of vacant and occupied (places).  
 He is not at rest nor moving. He is the selector and 12  
 sender of prophets, especially the best of all creatures,  
 Muhammad, may God bless him and grant him peace, who  
 is the most select and choice, and the highest (in the 15  
 world). He, who guided humanity to the truth,  
 established complete justice, taught his community the  
 way of rightness, and the Islam, and lit a candle in 18  
 every heart, may God bless and grant peace to him and  
 his family.

The author of this book, the noble reverend sayyid, 1  
 and the learned Imam, Abul-Ma'ālī Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd-Allah  
 b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥusayn b. Ja'afar b. 'Ubayd- 3  
 Allah b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī-Ṭalīb, may God be  
 pleased with them, and enfold them with His mercy, says  
 that after obedience to Almighty God and His Prophet, may 6  
 God bless him and grant him peace, and after fulfilling  
 the obligations and (following) the laws of religion,  
 nothing is more necessary in the world than obedience 9  
 to those in authority, whom Almighty God chooses from  
 among the creatures, and makes them dominant over His  
 servants, so that they may keep the creatures of God on 12  
 the path of justice and righteousness, and restrain the  
 hand of the strong from the weak. The proof of the truth  
 of this statement is that Almighty God mentioned obedience 15  
 to them, beside that due to Him and the Prophet, peace  
 be upon him, in the glorious and noble Qur'an. He, Who  
 is most powerful and great, said, "Obey God, obey the 18  
 Prophet, and those charged with authority among you"  
 (Qur'an IV, 59).

The beginning of the book.

21

It must be known that the former kings, from the  
 time of our father Adam, peace be upon him, till this day,  
 have acquired many presents, rarities and wonderful things, 24  
 all of which were transient. Nothing of it was, or will



be mentioned except from books of science and wisdom that 1  
 were written for them (the Kings) or good poetry that was  
 composed in praise of them. Books and poetry remained, 3  
 and were frequently mentioned, and whereas the Kings went  
 out of the world, their names were kept alive among the  
 creatures, for this reason. One request, among others 6  
 which Ibrahīm made of God, was that his name should be  
 mentioned in the world. This request is expressed in  
 Almighty God's statement, "Grant me honourable mention on 9  
 the tongue of truth among the latest generations".  
 (Qur'an: XXVI, 84). The honourable mention on the tongue  
 of truth is beautiful praise. Almighty God answered his 12  
 request. He made it a rule that his name should be  
 mentioned every day in the five prayers (in the version).  
 "As You blessed and made prosperous Ibrahīm and the family 15  
 of Ibrahīm, You are praiseworthy and glorious".

Now we come to our object. There was some discussion  
 in the royal audience concerning pre-Islamic and Islamic 18  
 religions and sects, and the meaning of the Tradition  
 (relating) that the Prophet, peace be upon him, said, "After  
 me, my community will be split into seventy-three sects 21  
 all of which will go to Hell except one". Which are these  
 seventy-three sects? What are the name and doctrine of  
 each? And of what is each of them accused? (By answering 24  
 these questions) the beliefs of the erring sects may be read,

their losing of the way may be known, and the Sunnī sect 1  
 may appreciate the amount of almighty God's beneficence  
 in that His divine guidance and grace preserved them from 3  
 such follies. Then, they will give thanks for this  
 graciousness as much as they can (in words like) "Praise  
 be to God, who hath guided us to this (felicity) never 6  
 could we have found guidance, had it not been for the  
 guidance of God". (Qur'an: VII, 43). Further, when the  
 proofs of the opponents become known, and information 9  
 about the stumblings and shameful beliefs of other sects  
 is gained, the Sunnīs can convince them in the easiest  
 way. Also, the goodness of Sunnism will appear when 12  
 seen side by side with the badness of other creeds. It  
 will be appreciated by the Sunnī that his choice was very  
 good, right and true, and agreeing with the rules of 15  
 reason, and so, his understanding and certainty as to  
 his right faith will increase.

We gave this book the name of Bayān al-Adyān (the 18  
 Exposition of Religions), and we displayed the list of  
 contents here (3) in order to make it easy for the searcher.  
 It is God who gives success, may He bless Muḥammad and 21  
 his family.

Chapter I. On showing that most of the people, in all  
 times and places, acknowledged and still 24  
 acknowledge the Creator.



Chapter II: on the exposition of creeds that were followed before Islam.	1
Chapter III: on the Tradition (relating) that the Prophet, peace be upon him, said, "After me, my community will be split into seventy-three sects", its cause, the authority in attributing it (to the Prophet), its explanation and meaning.	3 6
Chapter IV: on the exposition of the sects of Islam, presenting the doctrine of each, and an explanation of their titles in detail.	9
Chapter V: on relating the stories, and the strange things about a group of people who appeared, and made claim to the impossible, some of whom pretended to be God, others to be prophets.	12 15

What we have said and written in these chapters was not invented by us, ourselves, but it is what we have learnt and read, whether we read it before professors and Imams, apprehended it and remembered it, or whether we picked it up from books of well-known people. We have mentioned most of the names of the professors, and the titles of the books, <sup>and referred to them</sup> so that the reader of this book may not attribute to us something he does not like.

After all it was said:

The friendly eye ignores every defect it sees,

But the envious eye exposes any hidden defect.

CHAPTER I

(4) On showing that in all times and places the Creator 1  
was acknowledged by most of the people.

Let us begin the discussion in this Chapter with what 3  
Almighty God says in His incontrovertible book, "If indeed  
thou askest them who has created the heavens and the earth  
(and subjected the sun and the moon (to His law)), they 6  
will certainly reply, 'God'". (Qur'ān: XXIX, 61) All  
commentaries agree on this. In my view, none of the  
names peculiar to Almighty God, and their derivation from 9  
the spoken language, have ever been investigated. The  
names of Almighty God are of two kinds. Some of them are  
common (to God and mankind); so that if they are attributed 12  
to a created being, it is lawful; such are Ḥakīm (Wise),  
(Alīm (One who knows), and such like. Others are special  
as regards meaning. It is not allowed to call any 15  
created being by them, such as Khāliq (Creator), Musawwir  
(Giver of shape or form), for, in meaning, these names are  
peculiar to God, for He is the One who creates, grants 18  
daily bread, and gives shape (to what He creates), and so,  
it is forbidden to attribute them to any creature. And  
some of them, as words, are confined to God. Of those 21  
are the words Rahmān (Compassionate) and Allāh (God) which  
are peculiar to God. Among the Arabs no one has been  
called "Rahmān" except for a group of the tribe of Banū 24



Ḥanīfah who called Musaylimah al-Kadhdhāb (the imposter), 1  
 Raḥmān-ul Yamāmah (the Compassionate of Yamāmah). His  
 story will be mentioned in its proper place, if Almighty 3  
 God wills. But those two names are strictly limited to  
 Almighty God who said, "Say (to them) 'Call upon Allah,  
 or call upon ar-Raḥman, by whatever name ye call upon 6  
 Him (it is well) for to Him belong the most beautiful  
 names'". (Qur'ān: XVII, 110). The purpose of this  
 discussion is to show that the name of God was known and 9  
 famous among the Arabs, and was attributed only to God (5).  
 In the Period of Ignorance (the Pre-Islamic period) they  
 mentioned it in poetry and they used to write at the 12  
 beginning of their letters, "In Your name, our God" as  
 we write in time of Islam, "In the name of God, the  
 Compassionate, the Merciful". It is related in the 15  
 Traditions that on the revelation of the Qur-ānic verse,  
 "He said: 'Embark ye on the ark, in the name of God,  
 whether it moves or be at rest'". (Qur'ān: XI, 41). 18  
 the Prophet ordered that, "In the name of God", should  
 be written at the beginning of letters. When the verse,  
 "Say (to them), 'Call upon God, or call upon the Compass- 21  
 ionate'" (Qur'ān: XVII, 110), was revealed, he ordered that  
 they should begin writing with the (phrase) "In the name  
 of God, the Compassionate". Again on the revelation of 24  
 the verse, "It is from Solomon, and it is in the name of

God, the Compassionate, 'the Merciful" (Qur'ān, XXVII, 30), 1  
the (opening of written documents) remained in this form.

3

### Non-Arabians and (ancient) Persians

The (ancient) Persians called Almighty God Hurmuzd, 6  
Izad, and Yazdān. They acknowledged the existence of a  
Creator. A group of them worshipped fire. Their belief  
in fire-worshipping was the same as the belief of the idol-  
worshipping Arabs in their idols, as (indicated by what) 9  
Almighty God related from their sayings, "We only serve  
them in order that they may bring us nearer to God".  
(Qur'ān: XXIX, 4). The fire-worshippers had the same 12  
belief. They saw in any one who became the king of the  
day in Persia, and by whom big works were accomplished,  
something which they called Farri-Izadi (1) "فرّایزدی" and 15  
Yazd-Farra (2) "یزد فرّو". Maqdisī mentioned in his  
history that, in Persia, there was a fire-temple which  
was regarded as very old. In it, there was a book which 18  
Zoroaster had issued in three parts, Zand, Pazand, and  
Avesta. These are the words with which it begins:  
21 "فی گاه هی رستخیز هی برستی هر مزد و امشاسپندان"  
Their meaning is, "Do not doubt the Day of Resurrection  
and the existence of Almighty God and His angels".

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(1) فرّ means, magnificence, glory, power, dignity.

(2) فرّو means, state, dignity, grandeur, magnificence, power.



The Pahlavi (Language)

In the Pahlavi language God is called Khudāy<sup>(1)</sup>, Bār-  
Khudāy<sup>(2)</sup>, and Khudāwand<sup>(3)</sup>. (6) It is said that  
Khudāy means, He is self-existent, no one brought Him,  
 neither is He created.

Philosophers

Wise sages and philosophers who were called the pillars  
 of wisdom said that God is the First Goodness. They  
 said also that He is "Wāhib al-(Aql" which means "the  
 giver of the intellect", and "Bārī" which means the  
 creator of (all) creatures. Abu'l Ḥasan (ʿAmī wrote a  
 book which he called "Eternity over Eternity". In it,  
 he says that Galen was not described as a man of wisdom  
 or a philosopher because he said, "I am doubtful about  
 the qualities of First Goodness". They said to him,  
 "A person who is doubtful about his Creator does not  
 deserve to be called a man of wisdom or a philosopher.  
 You, (only) make medicines and treat the sick". For  
 this reason they described him as a physician. Abu'l  
Khayr Khammār mentioned in his work that Plato wrote a  
 book which he gave the name of *ṭibb*, and in which he  
 said, "If we call the Creator "the First Goodness" on  
 the ground that He brought forth good deeds, and that

---

(1) God.

(2) Lord God.

(3) Lord, master.

He is the real giver, we will not be far from the truth. 1.  
 After this, every praise which we give Him, however great  
 it may be, will not be worthy of His greatness, because, 3  
 it is beyond our ability to give Him that praise which is  
 His due. He cannot be perceived by the senses, neither  
 can the mind fully comprehend His nature. Every thing 6  
 which became manifest was from Him, and on Him rests the  
 preservation of all that He created. His start has  
 neither beginning, middle, nor end, and He has no like 9  
 nor equal." "This is the way of Plato and his disciples  
 concerning the 'Unity of God'. As for Aristotle, he  
 wrote a letter to Alexander after he had gone to fight 12  
 Darius, son of Darius. I read a copy of this letter in  
 the history of Maqdisi. Its translation is as follows:  
 "Alexander! Say to Darius, 'Do not boast much of your 15  
 army, arms, and weapons, for I will strive against you  
 with an army which, although it is small in number, its  
 power is great, because my army seeks victory from a 18  
 God Who is One, Who has neither beginning nor end (7),  
 neither like nor equal, and Whose kingdom does not come  
 to an end. He is the Omnipotent, Who is liable to no 21  
 impotence, and the King Who can never be deposed. He  
 is the Living Who has no death. I will ask victory from  
 Him and strive against you with this army which I have 24  
 described'". When the news of victory reached Aristotle



he wrote another letter in which he said, "Alexander! 1  
 Do not regard this victory and triumph as (accomplished)  
 by yourself, but think of it as (gained) by God's help. 3  
 Thank God, the most Glorious and Powerful. Say 'Praise  
 and thanks are, in truth, to Thee! I know Thee, refer  
 my need to Thee, and expect Thee to fulfil it. Thou, 6  
 Whose beginning has no start, and Whose kingdom has no  
 end. Thou, Who created Creation and made existence out  
 of nothing. Thou art the Strong Who wilt never become 9  
 weak, the Omnipotent Who wilt never become impotent. O  
 Thou (most) Wise Whom ignorance can never approach, and  
 (most) Generous Who can never become miserly. Neither 12  
 division nor shape apply to Thee. The mind of mankind  
 is unable to know and comprehend Thy greatness and  
 magnificence, and we are incapable of thanking Thee for 15  
 Thy favours and gifts'".

#### Byzantines, Copts and Abyssinians

Their language is the Syriac because most of them 18  
 are Christians. The Syriac language resembles the  
 Arabic. Almighty God in the language of those people  
 is "Laha", "Rabb", and "Aqdasha" which mean God, Lord, 21  
 and Most Holy, respectively. But in the Hebrew language,  
 which the Jews speak, the name of God is mentioned by  
 these words: 24

Iluhīm, Adunāy and Ehyā Esher Ehyā, " <sup>المزمع أنقاي إلهيا</sup> (sic) إلهيا,

and the Book of Moses begins with:

1

"Berēshīt bārā Ilūhīm ( بریت بارا ایلوهم )

There is no doubt that they acknowledge the Creator, even if there are differences between the doctrines of the Jews and those of the Christians, as will be mentioned in their proper place, if Almighty God wills.

3

### The Turks

The Turks call Almighty God "Tāngri" (1) , "Bir Tāngri", which means "One God", and "Gök Tāngri, which means "The God of Heaven". I have heard also that they call Him "Ulugh Bāyāt", which means, "the greatest of all great".

9

(8) India

12

Maqdisī says that Indians call Almighty God سرشتیاوات مراد یو (2)

Abu Rayhān, the astronomer, described in his book called "The Doctrines of India" the practices and beliefs of the Indians in all their aspects. In the second chapter he mentioned what I have related about the Unity of God.

15

He said, "Indians have a book which is called Patanjali

18

پاتنجلی . It is (written) in the style of "Question and Answer", and in it the discussion is carried on in the following way:

---

(1) This is the name of God in the Čaghatai dialect. See: E.i., article Tanrī.

(2) In the printed text of Maqdisī (p. 63) these names are given as: شیتا وایت و مراد یو . They are transcribed in the tr. )p. 57) "Chīta Vābit and Mahādēv.



Question: Who is that worshipped being, by whose divine 1.  
guidance, all (the creation) find the way to  
worshipping Him? 3

Answer: He is that (One) from whom all hopes are, and  
of whom are all fears. (He, Who) is far from  
imagination and thought and free from opposites and 6  
likenesses.

Question: Apart from these qualities you have mentioned,  
has He any other quality? 9

Answer: Real greatness and perfect omnipotence are His.  
Not a place or a time is empty of Him. Nothing can  
surround Him. No ignorance can ever be attributed 12  
to Him.

Question: Does that worshipped being speak or not?

Answer: He is eternally speaking. He was, is, and will 15  
be (doing so), and He was the One Who spoke to  
Ibrāhīm, and that is all.

Question: If, what the worshipped God says is according 18  
to knowledge, and what the learned men say is  
according to knowledge (also), what is, then, the  
difference between His speech and theirs? 21

Answer: Although the learned men speak according to  
knowledge, their knowledge is new because they did  
not know from the beginning. Therefore, they learnt 24  
so that they could speak. Again, Almighty God is  
eternally speaking, and ignorance has no way to Him.



And so, there is a great difference and a big distinction between these two kinds of speech. 1

Abu Rayhan mentioned in this book, the titles of the Indian works written about the Unity of God, (which are) "Gita, Bharata, Vasudeva, Samkhya and Arjuna" : 3

In these five books, matters are discussed as we have mentioned. Some of (9) the Indians call Almighty God Icvara (إِصْفَر) It means that He lacks nothing, and that He is generous. 6 9

### Negroes (the Zinj)

Although Negroes, among men, are like wild beasts, and they understand nothing but pleasure and enjoyment, they acknowledged the Creator. The name of Almighty God in their language is فَلَكْرِي حَلَرِي. The purpose of mentioning all these languages <sup>(1)</sup> was to establish that, in spite of the difference that was and is (still) between human beings, most of them acknowledged the Creator. (Each race) mentioned Almighty God by a special name in its language and had recourse to this name in times of difficulty. This is the greatest proof of the existence of the Creator. We have brought this chapter to a close, as we promised, by God's help and support. 12 15 18 21

---

(1) Read لَعْنَرِي instead of نَعْنَرِي

Chapter II

On the exposition of the doctrines 1  
that were followed before the Islam.

The Arabs 3

Let us begin with the doctrines of the Arabs.

Abu 'Īsā Warrāq mentioned in his book that a group of 6  
the Arabs acknowledged the Creator and the Resurrection  
but, they did not believe in the prophets, may the bless-  
ings of God be upon them. He mentioned a verse of 9  
Zuhayr ibn Abī Sulmā as a proof of this:

"Punishment may be hastened (in this world), or it  
may be postponed, and so, (the sin) will be noted 12  
in a book and preserved till the Day of Judgement"(1)

Some of them worshipped idols and recognised no Creator  
other than these. They had some of these idols in the 15  
Ka'ba, and gave each of them a name. Almighty God  
mentioned the names of some of them in the glorious Qur'an.  
He, Who is most exalted, said, "Abandon neither Wadd, nor 18  
Suwā', neither Yaghūth nor Ya'ūq, nor Nasr" (Qur'an: LXXI,  
22). And in another place He said, "Have ye seen al-Lāṭ  
and al-'Uzzā, and another, the third (goddess) Manāt" 21  
(Qur'an: LII, 19). And as Almighty God has mentioned  
the names of some of these idols, we will mention the names

---

ليوآ حساب أو بجل فينقم (1) preceded by:  
لا تكتبتم الله ما في نفوسكم  
ليخفي و سرها يكتم الله يعلم

of the idols of each group that was famous, so that it may 1  
become known to the reader:

Suwā<sup>(</sup> belonged to Banū Hudhayl, Wadd to Banū Kalb, 3  
Yaghūth to Hamdān, Nasr to Banū Kulā<sup>(</sup>who (occupied)  
the land of Himyar, Ya<sup>(</sup>ūq to Madhhi<sup>j</sup> and Yaman up to  
Dumat-ul Jandal. Lāt belonged to Thaqīf who occupied 6  
Tā'if, <sup>(</sup>Uzzā to Quraysh and Kinānah, Manāt to the Aws,  
the Khazraj and Ghassān. (2). Hubal was placed in the  
Ka<sup>(</sup>ba and was the biggest of the idols. Isāf and 9  
Nā'ilah were placed on the Safā<sup>(1)</sup> and the Marwah<sup>(2)</sup>.  
Apart from these idols, there were very many others,  
each of which was worshipped by a particular group, as 12  
we have mentioned.

Some of the Arabs followed the materialistic doctrine  
(Madhhab-i Ta<sup>(</sup>tīl) and were Naturalists (Dahrī). 15  
Almighty God related (some) of their sayings in the Qur'an,  
He said, "There is no other than our present life; we die  
and we live and nothing but the course of time destroyeth 18  
us" (Qur'an, 45, 23). Their poet, denying the Resurrection  
and the Day of Resurrection, said:

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(1) and (2) The Safā and the Marwah are two mountains near Meccā. They were the scene of Hagar's running to and fro in quest of water when left alone with Ishmael in the wilderness.



"Does the Prophet tell us that we will become alive 1  
after death?

How will life be restored to dead bodies and ghosts?"(1) 3  
Some of them worshipped angels. They said, "Angels are  
the daughters of Almighty God". Almighty said, "Exalted  
be He in high exaltation above what they say". From 6  
among their sayings, Almighty God related, "And they  
ascribe daughters to God, glory be to Him" (Qur'ān: XVI,  
59). 9

Some of them acknowledged the Resurrection as was  
expressed by their poet, (in the following verses):

"O my son( When you leave me in my grave provide me 12  
With a camel that has a comfortable saddle,  
To ride on it on the (Day of) Resurrection when we will  
be ordered to move, 15

Bound together to the gathering of the One who gathers".  
Some of them followed the Islamic religion before the  
appearance of the Prophet<sup>(11)</sup>. It was related in the 18  
traditions that a man, who was called Tubba' ibn Kulaykarib  
of Himyar believed in the Prophet, peace be upon him, before  
he appeared, and composed some poetry about this. The 21

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(1) Not the exact translation of صاۃ صاۃ is the plural of صاۃ  
a bird which is said to keep on screaming in the head of  
any person who has been murdered, till his murder is  
avenged. Some said that it is a bird that comes out of  
his head when it decays. This is according to the beliefs  
of the Arabs before the Islam.  
(Lisan al-Arab: vol 19. p.186. Cairo, 1907).

(11) From Ms. بردیه مسلمانانی بودند پیسه از پیغمبر.

following is what he said:

1

"I certify that Aḥmad,

Is a prophet of God, Who created the human beings,

3

And if I continue to live till his time,

I will be a support to him and a cousin".

Quss ibn Sā'idah al-Iyādī, the wise sage of the Arabs, was 6

one of those people. The Prophet, peace be upon him, said,

"I remember him. I saw him in the market of Ukāz, riding

on a red camel and giving the people advice". This is a 9

long story. The prophet, may he be granted peace, praised

him. Abū Qays Sirmah ibn Abī Anas, (12) who was from the

Banu-n-Najjār became disgusted with worshipping idols, made 12

his house into a mosque and said, "I will worship the God

of Ibrāhīm". When the Prophet, peace be upon him, appeared,

he followed him, and reached a high position in Islam, may 15

God be satisfied with him. Khālīd ibn Sinān, who was from

the Banū Abs ibn Ghayth believed in Islam before the

appearance of the Prophet; the Prophet had not yet been 18

given birth to by his mother, when this man believed in him.

He was killed. His daughter (lived) to see the Prophet,

and she followed him. Umayyah ibn Abī as-Salt from Thaqlif 21

became disgusted with idol-worshipping, and said that a

prophet would appear, and that the time of his appearance

was near. Saḥbān thought that he, himself, would be that 24

prophet. When our Prophet, may God bless him and grant

him peace, appeared, and his prophethood was revealed, this



man envied him. He did not believe in him and died 1  
 following no religion. His verses were cited before  
 the Prophet, peace be upon him. He said, "This man 3  
 had a tongue that believed, and a heart that did not".  
 Zayd b. (Amr b. Nufayl, (Amir b. az-Zarib from (Adwan,  
 the wise sage, and (Amr b. Yazid, from Kalb, these three 6  
 persons hoped that their lives would continue until they  
 found the Prophet, and believed in him. But all of them  
 died. 9

Some of the Arabs were soothsayers like Saṭīḥ and  
Shiqq. Their stories are well-known. Some of them  
 were Jews like the people of Khaybar, some were Christians 12  
 like the Banū Ghassān and the Banū Taghlib, and others were  
 Magians like the Banū Tamīm and the Banū (Abs. As we have  
 finished mentioning these doctrines, we will explain the 15  
 doctrines of the philosophers, if God, the Almighty and  
 Glorious, wills. 18

#### The Doctrines of the Philosophers.

Aristotle related, on the authority of his teacher Plato,  
 that he had been the student of Socrates, the wise sage, 21  
 who said that the doctrines of former and leading philos-  
 ophers, who had been the wise sages of their times, like  
 Agathodaemon, Hermes, Pythagoras and others, were expressed 24  
 in their saying that God is One, Eternal, Perfect, and not  
 (in any way) deficient. (13) He is the reason of all reasons,



the cause of all causes, the absolute Goodness, the real 1  
 Creator of beings, and the Giver of the whole. He is  
 neither composite nor shaped, nor made, has neither 3  
 opposite nor like, nor equal, and He is independent of  
 all. They regarded it as a duty on every human being  
 to mention Almighty God with the greatest respect and 6  
 reverence. They allowed cleaning with water after  
 answering a call of nature, as no harm happened to the  
 people from it. They held it as an obligation on 9  
 healthy people, to earn and work, and directed the punish-  
 ment of anyone, in whom bad habits were observed. To  
 them, cultivation was a duty on those able to do it, and 12  
 they honoured them highly. In their view, it was  
 obligatory to learn science and wisdom, and they (did not  
 consider it permissible) to kill any living being, except 15  
 from those which were a danger or a trouble to the people.  
 They respected the kings and held that one tenth and one  
 fifth (of the revenue) should be given to them. Their 18  
 doctrine, as regards the spirits, is that there is the  
 Universal Spirit, and individual spirits ( *جزئي* ). An  
 individual spirit is one that comes into the body of a 21  
 human being to become good. Afterwards, it goes out,  
 and rejoins the Universal (Spirit). The one that leaves  
 (the body) not free from vice, remains in space and will 24  
 never be able to join the Universal Spirit.

The Doctrines of the Jews

The Jews are agreed (on the fact) that the Creator is one. 1  
 But a group of them attributes anthropomorphism to Him,  
 and holds this as a doctrine. Another group does not 3  
 do so. They believe in the prophethood of Moses, Aaron,  
 and the Prophets who were before them, may they be granted  
 peace. They also believe in the Prophets who came 6  
 (confirming) the religion of Moses and Aaron like Joshua  
 and those who were similar to him. They do not acknow-  
 ledge Jesus and Muḥammad, the most select, peace be upon 9  
 them, and they recognise the Book of Moses (the Tawrāt),  
 the Psalms of David (the Zabūr), and the Nineteen Books  
 of Almighty God. 12

The Sāmariyyah (The Samaritans)

They believe in nothing but the Book of Moses (the Tawrāt) 15  
 and the three prophets, Moses, Aaron, and Joshua son of  
 Nūn, peace be upon them.

18

The (Anāniyyah

There was a man of the family of David, peace be upon him,  
 who was called (Ananī, the devout. (14) Some called him 21  
 A(ānī, and a group of the Jews was named after him.



The Rā'iyyah

This group is named after a person who appeared among 1  
them and made great claims.

3  
R'as al Jālūt (the Exilarch) is the name of the head  
of the Jews. The claim which attributes his descent  
from the sons of David, peace be upon him, is very weak. 6  
To them, his distinguishing characteristic is that he  
has such long arms that, when he stretches them down, the  
tip of a finger of the hand passes down the knee. 9  
Hibr is the title by which one of their learned men is  
called.

Rāhib is the name for a monk in a monastery. The 12  
plurals of these two words are Ahbār and Ruhbān, respect-  
ively. The priest (qissīs) is also a monk (rāhib).  
Almighty God said, "They have taken their learned men 15  
and their monks (for gods, and set them up beside God,  
and also the Messiah son of Mary; never were they  
ordered to serve any but One God only, there is no God 18  
but He; far from His glory be what they set up with  
Him)"(1).

The Tawrāt of the Eighty: This is the one that (came from 21  
the act) of one of the kings of the Jews, who gathered  
eighty persons of the learned men and the monks and asked  
them to translate the Book of Moses. He made for each 24

---

(1) Qur'an IX, 31.: اتخذوا اَحِبَّاءَهُمْ وَرَهْبَانَهُمْ اَرْبَابًا مِثْلَ دُوبِ الْاَلَةِ وَالْمَسِيحِ  
بِهِ مَرْيَمُ وَمَا أَمْرُوا إِلَّا لِيَعْبُدُوا إِلَٰهًا وَاحِدًا لَا إِلَٰهَ إِلَّا هُوَ سُبْحَانَهُ عَمَّا يُشْرِكُونَ



of them a separate place to do this. When the translations were completed all the eighty men agreed with each other, and there was no difference. For this reason it was called the "Tawrat (Moses' Book) of the Eighty". They honour it, and take solemn oaths on it.

6

### The Doctrines of the Christians

They say that the Creator is one essence and three persons. They mention these three persons as follows, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit. There are three sects of them, the Jacobite, the Nestorian, and the Malkā'ī.

9

12

### The Jacobites

They are named after a man who was called Jacob. The commentator of his doctrine was one (15) of the bishops whose name was Mattā son of At-Tamīm, the Jacobite. Their doctrine is that the Creator is from one aspect eternal and temporal from another; (eternal) in His divine quality as God, (temporal) in His human quality as a man, exalted be God in high exaltation above this!

15

21

### The Nestorians

They are named after a man called Nestorius. Their doctrine is that the Son came into existence from the Father, not by way of generation and birth, but as the

24

light comes from the sun, which can never be without light. 1  
 Some say that the Messiah was a man, upon whose soul the  
 kingship and power of Almighty God descended. So, he is 3  
 God as well as a man, and the annointer as well as the  
 annointed, and for that reason, he is called the Messiah.

6

### The Malkā'īs

They are attributed to Malkā. Most of the Christians  
 follow the Malkā'ī doctrine. They say that the Messiah 9  
 is a pure essence which went through Mary's ear, and came  
 out of her right side. He was never mixed with her  
 (human essence). According to them, the Spirit went 12  
 into Mary as water passes through a spout; and whoever  
 makes his soul clear (by abstinence from) the foods of  
 this world, sees Almighty God. 15

They call their place of worship, the church,  
 (haykal), and in it the pictures of the Prophets, and that  
 of Jesus, peace be upon him, are, usually painted. 18

### Their Religious and Military Orders

The greatest of them are the Patriarchs (Batriqs) (1). 21  
 They always have four of them; one sits in Constanti-  
 nople, a second in Rome, a third in Alexandria, and a

---

(1) (G. Patrichios), a patriarch.



fourth in Antioch. They call these four places the 1  
 Chairs, plural of Chair. Jāthaliq<sup>(1)</sup> is inferior to  
 the Patriarch (Batriq). His place in the Islamic 3  
 (world) is Bagdād, the capital of the Caliphate, and  
 his chief is the Patriarch (Batriq) in Antioch. The  
 Matrān is his immediate inferior and his residence is 6  
 in Khurāsān. Under him, there is an Usquff in each  
 district. The Shammās is the pupil of the Qissīs.

(16) Caesar is called the Head of the Byzantines, 9  
 the Tyrant of the Byzantines, and the Dog of the  
 Byzantines. He must have twelve Batriqs which means  
 twelve army commanders, each of whom commands ten thousand 12  
 men. Six of them are, always present before him, and  
 the (other) six move about the country. The Trunkār<sup>(2)</sup>  
 is inferior to the Batriq. He is also called the 15  
 Fastyār<sup>(3)</sup> and a thousand men are under his command. The  
 Qaumas<sup>(4)</sup> is inferior to him, and he is the commander of  
 200 men. Under him is the Istartaj<sup>(5)</sup>, who commands 18  
 forty men. The Zāwuj is his inferior and he is the  
 commander of ten men.

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(1) (G. Katholikos), A prelate, doctor, or Christian priest,  
 in the Muhammedan countries. (Steingrass Dictionary),  
 London, 1892.

(2) (G. Dronggaris).

(3) (G. Bestiaris).

(4) (G. Komes).

(5) (G. Strategos).



The Doctrine of the Magians.

It is related in the Traditions that the Prophet, peace 1  
 be upon him, said, "Follow, with the Magians, the same  
 rules (laid) for your relations with the believers in 3  
 the revealed religions <sup>(1)</sup>, except as regards marrying  
 their women, and eating the meat of the animals they kill".  
 Their doctrine is expressed in the saying that, all good 6  
 things are from God, and all evils are from Satan.  
 Almighty God is called Yazdān by them, and Satan is  
 called Ahriman. They say that Yazdān is eternal, and 9  
 Ahriman is temporal, and that Gayūmarth was the progenitor  
 of mankind. They say (also) that, as the Creator (had a  
 comprehensive sight of the whole being), He thought about 12  
 His capacity of seeing, and from His thinking, Ahriman  
 appeared, exalted by God in high exaltation above this!  
 Fire is revered and honoured by them. They serve it. 15.  
 They do not defile water, which means they do not pollute  
 it with anything, and they only use it for drinking.  
 Making pleasure and drinking wine are considered as 18  
 devotion by them. They bow to the ground in adoration  
 of the sun three times a day, making their adoration (each  
 time) in its direction. When they eat they never speak, 21  
 and they regard it as an obligation to make a particular  
 low, murmuring noise (zanzama) at mealtimes. They  
 particularly avoid dead animals. They allow the marriage 24

---

(1) The believers in the revealed religions are the Muslims,  
 the Jews, and the Christians.

of (close) relatives, like mothers, sisters and daughters 1  
 and the sodomite is stoned to death by them. They do not  
 bury their dead in graves but they put them in the open 3  
 air in "Dakhmas"(1). (17) The fire-worshipper is called  
 "hirbad".

6

### The Doctrine of Zoroaster

The Magians say that they had a prophet called Zoroaster  
 who brought these laws and wrote three books which they 9  
 call Zand, Pazand, and Avesta. In these books there are  
 incomprehensible statements but a group of them wrote  
 commentaries on and interpretations of them. 12

### The Doctrine of Mazdak

A man, who was called Mazdak, appeared in the town of 15  
 Nasā, in the time of Qabādi Firūzān, and made claim to  
 prophethood. He changed some of the laws of Zoroaster,  
 and made property and women to be enjoyed incommon by all 18  
 people. Some people believed in him. His doctrine was  
 that possessions and women had been, originally, the  
 property of all people, and were still so, till Noshirwān 21  
 disputed with him, demonstrated the absurdity of his  
 arguments, and killed him.

---

(1) Dakhma (دخمه) is a circular stone building in the form  
 of a cylinder, on the flat surface of which, the fire-  
 worshippers lay the bodies of their dead.



The Doctrine of Mānī

This man was a master in painting. He appeared among 1  
the Magians in the time of Shapūr son of Ardashir and  
made claim to prophethood. The proof he adduced in 3  
support of this was his skill in the art of drawing and  
painting. It is said that he drew a line on a piece of  
white silk, and that this line disappeared when the silk 6  
thread, (on which it was drawn), was pulled out. He  
wrote a book with various kinds of pictures which was  
called Arjanki Mānī; it is (to be found) in the libraries 9  
of Ghaznain. His teaching was the same as that of  
Zoroaster, and he held the Doctrine of the Two Principles,  
as we have mentioned above. 12

The Doctrine of the Two Principles

The believers in it say that Zoroaster said, "There are 15  
two creators, one of them is Light, the creator of good  
and the other Darkness, the creator of evil. All comfort,  
light, (18) devotion, and goodness which are in the world 18  
appertain to the creator of good, and all evil, sedition,  
disease, and darkness appertain to the creator of evil".  
But they say that both the creators are eternal. They 21  
consider it obligatory to give away one tenth of their  
property. They own only one year's clothing and they  
consider it unlawful to have more than one day's food. 24.  
They fast one seventh of their lives and perform four



prayers. They believe in the prophethood of Adam, 1  
 peace be upon him, and in that of Seth, then in the  
 prophethood of a man, who was called "Budūh" ( بـدوہ ) 3  
 in India. Zoroaster's prophethood was in Persia.  
 Mānī is said to be the last of prophets by them, and  
 they admire him greatly. The Sabians held the same 6  
 doctrine.

ANECDOTE.

In the time of Ma'mūn, it happened that he ordered 1  
debates with all the religious sects to be held before him;  
till an eloquent man who was a believer in the Dualist 3  
Doctrine came, and debated in support of this doctrine.  
Ma'mūn ordered the Muslim theologians and doctors of law  
to be assembled to dispute with him. When the turn of this 6  
man to talk came, he said, "I see some agency governs good  
and evil, light and darkness, righteousness and wickedness.  
There must be, undoubtedly, a different creator for each of 9  
these (groups of) opposites, because it is unacceptable to  
reason that one and the same creator should be responsible  
for good and evil". And he continued to mention similar 12  
arguments. A loud voice from among the people, who were  
present, exclaimed, "O Commander of the faithful! There  
should be no discussion with a person like this except with 15  
the sword". And, none of the fuqahā debated with him. (1)  
Ma'mūn remained silent for a while, then he asked the man  
"What doctrine is this?" He answered, "It is the doctrine 18  
(which states) that there are two creators, one of whom is  
the creator of good, and the other is the creator of evil.  
The actions and deeds of each of them are apparent. The 21  
one who does good, does not do evil, and the one who does  
evil does not do good".

---

(1) MS.

Ma'mūn said, "In their deeds are they both omnipotent or 1  
 impotent?" The man said, "In their deeds both of them are  
 omnipotent, and a creator is never liable to impotence". 3  
 Ma'mūn said, "Does any impotence whatever afflict them?"  
 The man said, "No! How can a worshipped being be impotent?"  
 Ma'mūn said, "Good God! Does the creator of good want the 6  
 whole (creation) to be with him, and that there should be  
 no creator of evil, or does the creator of evil want the  
 creator of good to cease to exist? And do they have their wish 9  
 and desire or do they not?". The man said, "They do not,  
 and neither of them has any power over the other". Ma'mūn  
 said, "Then, the impotence of these two has (now) become 12  
 clear, and impotence does not apply to God". The Dualist  
 remained lost in amazement. Then Ma'mūn ordered him to  
 be killed, and all (who were present) praised Ma'mūn. 15

### The Doctrine of Idol-Worshippers.

Although idol-worshippers were discussed before, and 18  
 some of the names of the idols that were famous among the  
 Arabs were mentioned, we wanted to write a separate chapter  
 on their doctrine, as there is no group which is more 21  
 foolish than those who cut something with their own hands,  
 shape it, then take it for God and worship it. They are  
 of very many different classes among the Indians, the Arabs 24  
 and others. The reason for the beginning of idol-worship-  
 ping is said to be that Hūshang had a daughter, and he



loved to look at her appearance. The daughter died. 1  
 He ordered her picture to be painted in the temple, and  
 he used to go every day to see it, till a necessity for 3  
 a journey arose, and he could not endure to part from  
 this picture. He ordered an image of this daughter to  
 be made, and he carried it with him wherever he went. 6  
 Then, when a time had elapsed after this, and Hūshang  
 died, this affair of idol-worshipping appeared in the  
 world. The Indians say that the idols which are placed 9  
 in the Buddhist temples (बुद्ध) and in the temples of  
 idolators are a means of approach to the angels and the  
 stars which they represent in these forms and worship. 12  
 According to them, the Ka'ba in Mecca is attributed to  
 the planet Saturn and the Nawbahār in Balkh is attrib-  
 uted to the moon, and in this way they mention seven 15  
 temples ascribed to the seven planets. The one who  
 serves idols is called idol-worshipper (But-parast).  
 Idol-worshipping existed among the Arabs in former times. 18  
 To-day, thanks be to God, there is nothing but the Islamic  
 Religion (in Arabia), and the Prophet, peace be upon him,  
 said, "There will never be two religions in the Island 21  
 of the Arabs". Consequently, the Arabs became cleansed  
 of all these unclean things by the blessing of their  
 relationship with and their having the same tongue as the 24  
 Prophet, peace be upon him. But in India, idol-worshippers

are much more numerous, and we will mention their doctrines 1  
and sects here.

The Doctrines of the Indians. 3

No group of the opposers (of the Muslims) has more  
ingenuity and sagacity than the Indians, because the sciences  
of medicine, astronomy, arithmetic, various kinds of medicine, 6  
poisons and antidotes against poisons, and astronomy,  
knowledge of horoscopes and astrological predictions came  
from India to Khurāsān, Iraq and other places. The art of 9  
reason and the science of physiognomy are their specialities  
to such an extent that they can make their enemy fall into false  
conceptions, then drive him to destruction.(20)I have read 12  
various anecdotes and stories (about this) but there is no  
advantage in mentioning them, especially in this book.  
The state of their ingenuity and learning is like this, 15  
but their foolishness as regards matters of religion and  
religious laws reached such an extent that a group of them  
worship idols, kill themselves for their sake, and throw 18  
themselves into fire. They acknowledge the prophethood  
of Adam, peace be upon him, and some of them acknowledge  
that of Ibrāhīm. Some of them do not recognise the Creator, 21  
and believe in the Naturalistic Doctrine, some worship the  
stars, some worship what looks beautiful in their eyes,  
and others believe in the Doctrine of Transmigration, and 24



say that the soul goes from one body into another.

1

Bu-Zayd, the wise sage, said that the idol is called

"qāqlīt" in their language. They consider it unlawful

3

to eat meat, especially that of the cow, and most of them do not drink wine as they regard it as an unlawful act.

They are vegetarians and not meat-eaters. They hold a

6

high position as regards honesty and uprightness. Brahman is the most devout of them.

### The Doctrine of Transmigration.

9

The believers in it say that all these souls are one and the same, and that Transmigration is of four kinds,

Naskh, Maskh, Faskh, and Raskh. If a soul leaves the body

12

of a human being and goes into the body of another human

being, this is called Naskh. If the transmigration of the

soul is from the body of a human being to that of an animal,

15

it is called Maskh, if it is from the body of a human being

to that of insects in the earth or insects which sting, it

is called Faskh. Raskh is the name of the transmigration

18

of the soul from a human being to trees and plants. In

fine, they say that this world is eternal, and that the

punishment of souls is according to their sins. If a tyrant

21

dies, his soul is said to go into the body of a beast of

burden, a mouse, or a beast of prey, but if one of good

behaviour dies, his soul goes into the body of a holy man

24



or into that of a King. This is the most abominable of  
all doctrines.

### The Doctrine of the Ṣabians.

Some of the philosophers of Greece, who were called  
the Ṣabians, held this doctrine. The Ṣabian, linguist-  
ically, is the one who changes from one faith to another. 6  
Anyhow, those people were given this name, and their chiefs (21)  
are Adānī, Agathodaemon, Hermes, and Solon who was the  
ancestor of Plato on his mother's side. They were also 9  
mentioned, like this, by Abul-Ḥasan Nawrizi<sup>(1)</sup> (ابوالحسن نورری)  
in the book of Abridgements (Ikhtisārāt). They performed  
three prayers every day, the morning prayers, the mid-day 12  
prayers and the night prayers. They hold supererogatory  
prayers to the fixed stars, each day to the star after  
which that day is called, thus (for example), they pray to 15  
Saturn on Saturday, and so on. Their days of fast number  
thirty in the year, but are scattered throughout it. Eight  
of these days fall consecutively at the beginning of the 18  
month of Adhār (the Syrian month of March). Then, there  
are another seven days and another six, which follow after  
an interval. During the days of fasting, they do not eat 21  
meat. Every month they present four cocks as sacrifices  
in the names of the stars. They put the blood of these  
cocks in a grave, but they burn their feathers and bones. 24

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(1)

MS.

They do not eat the flesh of the camel, neither that of the francolin nor that of the pigeon, and they never eat fish. 1

They admit the punishment of the souls for their sins, as we have mentioned before this concerning the Doctrine of Philosophers. 3

The Doctrine of the Qarāmiṭah and the Zanādiqah. 6

In all times there have been some people who, because of their indolence, preferred not to follow any religion, and denied them all. Qarāmiṭah, Zanādiqah and Ibāḥatīān are one in denying the Creator, may God curse them. The Qarāmiṭah are named after a man who was called Ahmad ibn Qarmat, and the Zanādiqah are named after Zindīk ( زنديك ) who was a man from Persia. When his name was arabicised the "K" was replaced by the Arabic "Q". Anyone who believes in his doctrine is called "Zindīq". Similarly the Khurram-Dīnān are that group who prefer bodily ease and enjoyment, and they have taken from all faiths whatever seems most pleasant to them. The Ibāḥatīān hold the same opinion, except that they are more lacking in a sense of honour than any other group of the Infidels to such an extent that they do not deny to each other the members of their families. The Mu'attilah are a sect of the same type who, in addition, believe in the doctrine of Ta'tīl and the negation (of God). 12 15 18 21

The Sophists.

Logicians and philosophers mentioned in their books that there was a group of people who were called Sophists. Their doctrine is that nothing of what we see is real, and that which we see in wakefulness is the same as which we see in sleep. Again, I have heard that this saying was fabricated by the logicians, and that nobody at any time believed in this doctrine.

These were the opinions of the people who were before Islam, and who believed in different faiths. Now, we will come to the Doctrine of Islam, and describe it.



CHAPTER III

- (23) "On the Tradition (relating) that the 1  
 Prophet said "After me, my community  
 will be split into seventy-three sects". 3

We will mention the "Isnād" of this Tradition, give  
 its formal explanation and show what is meant by those  
 seventy-three sects. 6

The qāḍī imām Abu'l-Fath (Abd-ur-Rahīm b. (Abdullāh  
 related on the authority of the shaykh Abu'l-Faḍl (Abd-us  
 Samad Muḥammad al-ʿĀsī, Abu (Abdullāh al-Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad 9  
 al-Kūfī, who related to him in Mecca, may God protect it,  
 Abu'l-Ḥusayn ad-Dīnavarī, Hārūn b. Yazīd, Mūsā b. Jaʿfar b.  
 Muḥammad as-Sādiq, may God be satisfied with them (all), his 12  
 father, his grandfather, and al-Ḥusayn b. (Alī, may the  
 satisfaction of God be upon them, that (Alī b. Abī Ṭalib,  
 may God honour his countenance, said, "We were with the 15  
 Prophet, may God bless him and grant him peace, on a journey  
 and we stopped by a water-hole, which is called the Water-  
 hole of Khumm. The Prophet, may God bless him and grant 18  
 him peace, came out and ordered the people to be called  
 together for prayer. The companions of the Prophet, peace  
 be upon him, assembled. He went on a piece of rising ground 21  
 took me by the hand and said, 'Almighty God created the people  
 from different trees, and created me and (Alī from one tree.  
 I am its root, (Alī is its trunk, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥusayn are 24  
 its fruits, and our supporters are its branches and leaves.

Those who cling to some part of it will escape, and those 1  
 who keep away from it will perish'. Then he said, 'Am I  
 not to be preferred by you and all the faithful to their  
 own souls?' They said, 'By God, Yes!' The Prophet said, 3  
 'The one who considers me his lord should consider <sup>(Alī</sup> so  
 (also). O God! Mayest Thou support those who support him,  
 be an enemy to those who are his enemies, make victorious 6  
 those who assist him, defeat those who desert him, and  
 establish the truth'. Then he said, 'The people of Mosès  
 were split, after him, into seventy-one sects, seventy of 9  
 which perished and one escaped, namely the one about which  
 Almighty God said, 'Of the people of (24) Moses, there is one  
 group who guide and do justice in the light of truth 12  
 (Qur'an vii, 159). And this is the sect which escaped.  
 The people of Jesus were split, after him, into seventy-two  
 sects, seventy-one of which perished, and one escaped, 15  
 namely the one about which God said, 'And we ordained in the  
 hearts of those who followed him compassion and mercy',  
 (Qur'an: LVII,27). And so they are the group which 18  
 escaped. And, after me, my people will be split into  
 seventy-three sects, seventy-two of which will perish and  
 one will escape, and this is the one meant by God in His 21  
 saying, "Those who follow the illiterate Prophet"  
 (Qur'an VII, 156). I am leaving among you two precious  
 things, if you abide by them, you will never lose your way, 24  
 the book of God sent from heaven, and my family, and they



will never part till they come to me on the Basin (of 1  
 Paradise)'. All the people who were present stood up  
 and congratulated me on what the Prophet of God, peace 3  
 be upon him, had mentioned. Even (Umar b. ul-Khaṭṭāb,  
 may God be satisfied with him, said, 'How happy are you Abu'l  
 Hasan! You have become the lord of every Muslim man 6  
 and woman!''.

This tradition was attributed to the Prophet by many  
 different authorities, but I heard it with the 'Isnād' 9  
 and the very words I mentioned above; this 'isnād' is  
 more complete and much better than any of the others,  
 through which this tradition reached us. I have related 12  
 it in Arabic for the sake of the blessing (which will accrue  
 therefrom). Now, I will comment upon it and give an  
 explanation (of it) in Persian, so that it may become 15  
 known.

Ja'fari Ṣādiq (the truthful), may God be satisfied  
 with him, related on the authority of his ancestors that the 18  
 commander of the faithful, (Alī b. Abī Tālib, may God  
 honour his countenance, said, "We were on a journey with  
 the Prophet, may the blessings of God be upon him and we 21  
 stopped in a place near a water-hole called the Water-  
 hole of Khumm. The Prophet, peace be upon him, came out  
 suddenly at mid-day and ordered the call "Gather for 24  
 prayers" to be sounded, as was his custom when he wanted



his companions to be assembled so as to tell them a revelation or to plan something with them. The companions of the Prophet assembled and the Prophet, may the blessings of God be upon him, went onto a piece of rising ground, and it is said that a pulpit was made of saddles of camels for him to stand on. He took me by the hand and said, 'Almighty God created the creatures from different trees, and he created me and 'Alī from one tree. I am the root of this tree, 'Alī is its trunk, Hasan and Husayn are its fruits, and our supporters are its branches and leaves. Anybody who clings to one of these branches will escape, and those who stand aside from them will perish'. Then he said 'Am I not to be preferred by you and all the Muslims to your own souls?' (25) They said, 'O, Yes!' The Prophet said, 'Anyone who considers me his master should consider 'Alī so (also)'. Then he prayed and said, "O God! Mayest Thou be a friend to the one who supports him, and an enemy to that one who holds him as a foe". Then he said, 'The people of Moses, may the blessings of the Compassionate be upon him, were split, after him, into seventy-one sects, seventy of which perished and one escaped, namely, the one about which Almighty God said, 'Of the people of Moses, there is one group, who guide and do justice in the light of truth'. The people of Jesus, may the blessings of God be upon him, were split, after him, into seventy-two sects, seventy-one of which perished and one escaped, namely the one about

which Almighty God sent the (following) verse, 'And we 1  
 ordained in the hearts of those who followed him compassion  
 and mercy'. And, after me, my people will be split into 3  
 seventy-three sects, seventy-two of which will perish, and  
 one will escape, and this is the one meant and described  
 by Almighty God in the verse, 'Those who follow the 6  
 illiterate Prophet'. Then he said, ' I am going (out of  
 this world) and I will leave among you two things, the  
 Book of Almighty God, which means the Qur 'ān, and my family, 9  
 descendants, and those related to me. Hold on to them  
 both, because they will never be parted from each other  
 till the Day of Resurrection when they will come to me by 12  
 the water of the river Kawthar (in Paradise). All the  
 people, who were present, stood up and congratulated me on  
 what the Prophet, may the blessings of God be upon him, 15  
 mentioned and said about me. Even 'Umarī Khattāb, may  
 God be satisfied with him, said, 'Eravo! O how happy are  
 you Abu 'l-Hasan! You are now our lord and the lord of 18  
 every faithful man and woman! ".

This was the explanation of the Tradition that was  
 mentioned. God, only, knows what is right. It is necess- 21  
 ary to give an explanation of those seventy-three Islamic  
 sects so that it may be clearly seen with the eye, that  
 the Prophet, may the blessings of God be upon him, never 24  
 told a lie, and that whatever he said can never be any-  
 thing other than the truth.



SECTION

The origins of the Doctrines of the Islamic sects are 1  
 eight and no more; the Doctrine of the Sunnah and the  
 Jamā'ah (the community), the Doctrine of the Mu'tazilīs, 3  
 the Doctrine of the Shī'īs, the Doctrine of the Khārijīs,  
 the Doctrine of the Mujbirs, the Doctrine of the Mush-  
 abbihs and the Karrāmīs, the Doctrine of the Sūfīs and 6  
 the Doctrine of the Murji's.

These are the origins of the beliefs and doctrines  
 (of Islam), but (the sects holding them) were split into 9  
 numerous groups, as will be explained in its proper place,  
 if Almighty God wills.

The Doctrine of the Sunnah and the Jamā'ah. 12

They are two groups:-

- (a) The followers of the Traditions (Aṣḥābi Ḥadīth) who 15  
 comprise five sub-groups:  
 (1) The Dāwūdīs, (2) The Shāfi'īs, (3) The Mālikīs  
 (4) The Ḥanbalīs, (5) The Ash'arīs.  
 (b) The followers of personal opinion. They are one 18  
 group, namely, The Ḥanafīs.

The Mutazilīs 21

They comprise seven groups:

- (1) The Ḥasanīs, (2) The Hudhaylīs, (3) The Nazẓāmīs,  
 (4) The Ma'marīs, (5) The Bishrīs, (6) The Jahizīs 24  
 (7) The Ka'bīs.



### The Shī'īs.

They comprise five groups. The first group of them 1  
is divided into five sub-groups:

- (1) The Abtarīs, (2) The Jārūdīs, (3) The Khashabīs, 3  
(4) The Dhukayrīs, (5) The Khalafīs.

The second group of them, the Kaysānis. They comprise 6  
four sub-groups:

- (1) The Mukhtārīs, (2) The Karibīs, (1)  
(3) The Ishāqīs, (4) The Harbīs.

The third group of them is the group of the Ghālīs 9  
(the extremists), and it is divided into nine sections:

- (1) The Kāmilīs, (2) The Saba'īs, (3) The Mansūrīs,  
(4) The Ghurābīs, (5) The Bazīghīs, 12  
(6) The Ya'qūbīs, (7) The Ghamāmīs (2)  
(8) The Ismā'īlīs (9) The Azdarīs.

The fourth group of them is split into two sub-groups: 15

- (1) The Sabbāhīs, (2) The Nāsirīs.

The fifth group of them, the Imāmī Ithnā 'ashrīs,  
(those who believe in twelve imams), and they are one. 18

### The Khārijīs

They are divided into fifteen groups: 21

- (1) The Azraqīs, (2) The Najdīs, (3) The 'Ajradīs,  
(4) The Bida'īs, (5) The Khāzimīs, (6) The Tha'labīs  
(7) The Harūrīs.

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(1) The printed text is not accurate here. In the MS. this  
passage reads as follows: *الكيانية من فرقته شوندة المختار من الكريه*  
(2) From the MS.

- (8) The Ṣufrīs, (9) The Ibādīs, (10) The Ḥafṣīs, 1  
 (11) The Yazīdīs, (12) The Bayhasīs,  
 (13) The Shamrākhīs, (14) The Fadlīs, 3  
 (15) The Dahhākīs.

The Doctrine of the Mujbirs 6

They comprise six groups:

- (1) The Jahmīs, (2) The Aṭṭahīs,  
 (3) The Najjārīs (3) The Dirārīs, 9  
 (5) The Ṣifātīs (6) The Nāsībīs (Nawāsibah)

The Doctrine of the Mushabbihs 12

They comprise ten groups:

- (1) The Kullābīs (2) The Karrāmīs  
 (3) The Hishāmīs (4) The Shaybānīs 15  
 (5) The Muṭazilīs (6) The Zurarīs  
 (7) The Muqātilīs (8) The Minhālīs,  
 (9) The Mubayyids (10) The Nu'mānīs 18

The Doctrine of the Ṣūfīs

They comprise two groups: 21

- (1) The Nūrīs  
 (2) The Ḥulūlīs

The Doctrine of the Murji's

1

They comprise six groups:

3

(1) The Rizāmīs      (2) The Ghaylānīs

(3) The Tūmanīs      (4) The Sālīhīs

(5) The Shimmārīs      (6) The Jahmīs

6

The purpose of what we have said was to give a list of the seventy-three sects. What the Prophet, may the blessings of God be upon him, had said, proved to be true. Having shown the origin of these seventy-three sects we will now discuss the opinions of each of them in detail.

12



(29)

CHAPTER IV

On the exposition of the Islamic  
sects, showing the opinion of each  
of them and explaining their affairs  
in detail.

By the guidance of Almighty God, we will discuss these 1  
creeds and doctrines, following the same order in which  
we have mentioned them till we have given the full 3  
explanation of the seventy-three sects. We hope that,  
by the grace of Almighty God, we will be of the group of  
those who escaped, and not among those who perished. 6

The Doctrine of the Sunnah and the Jamā'ah

We say that the holders of the middle place among the 9  
Muslims are the followers of the Sunnah and the Jamā'ah  
(the Community). Whatever group you find among the Muslims,  
which has a doctrine, will say to you, if you ask about 12  
their doctrine, that theirs is the doctrine of the Sunnah  
and the Jamā'ah. The basis of this doctrine is that God  
with all His attributes, is declared eternal; the Qur'ān 15  
is not created; Paradise and Hell are created, and they  
are existent now; they believe to be a reality that the  
people of Paradise shall see Almighty God with the eyes of 18  
the head; the torture of the grave, and the interrogation  
by Munkar and Nakīr are declared true by them; the servants  
of God are not considered unbelievers (kafirs) by 21

committing mortal sins; if they die before repenting 1  
 and vowing to sin no more, they will be given a punish-  
 ment in Hell equal to their sins; then, by the inter- 3  
 cession of the Prophet, may the blessings of God be  
 upon him, they will go to Paradise; they believe that  
 the ascent of the Prophet, may the blessings of God be 6  
 upon him, was till he reached<sup>to</sup>/a distance of two bow-  
 lengths (Qur'ān: LIII,9), and they believe to be a  
 reality that he saw the kingdom of heaven; fate and 9  
 destiny, and good and evil are declared, by them, to be  
 subject to the will of God, but that does not make null  
 and void the recompense and the punishment of the people 12  
 according to their deeds; they say that good and evil  
 (are caused) by the will of Almighty God, but man has the  
 choice in his deeds; God, who knew by His eternal 15  
 knowledge, the condition of the mind of every one, created  
 the deeds of every person according to his choice. This  
 is the meaning of the statement, "Fate, its goodness and 18  
 badness, are from God". They say that the divine help  
 and divine abandonment (30) of people were pre-destined  
 since all eternity according to the will of God and that 21  
 nothing is within the power of people except obedience  
 and striving. The failure of the one who fails has been  
 decreed from all eternity and so is the success of the 24



one who succeeds. This is the meaning of Almighty God's 1  
 statement, "We have divided between them (their liveli-  
 hood in the life of this world)" (Qur'an: XLIII,32). 3  
 It is also the meaning of the following statement by the  
 Prophet, may the blessings of God be upon him, "That one  
 is happy, whose happiness (was decreed) since he was in 6  
 his mother's womb, and that one is miserable whose misery  
 (was decreed) since he was in his mother's womb". They  
 acknowledge the Tablet and the Pen (of Divine decrees), 9  
 and the Throne and the Chair (of God), as they were  
 mentioned by the Almighty. They say that everything,  
 which will happen, has been decreed, and, in it, there will 12  
 be no increase or decrease. Fate is of two kinds; the  
 one is absolute and the other is conditional. They  
 consider right the holding of collective prayers. As 15  
 regards the qualities of God, they are far from attributing  
 to Him similarity (with His creatures), and from denying  
 His attributes (Taṭīl). They have no dispute about the 18  
 Companions of the Prophet. They consider legitimate the  
 succession of Abū-Bakr as-Siddīq (the truthful) to the  
 Prophet, and they place him above the rest of the Companions. 21  
 After him, they acknowledge ʿUmar b. al-Khaṭṭāb, then  
 ʿUthmān b. ʿAffān, may God be satisfied with them, then  
 ʿAlī b. Abī Tālib, may God honour his countenance. They 24  
 bear in their hearts an equal love for them all. These  
 are the fundamentals of the Doctrine of the Sunnah and the  
 Jamāʿah (the community).

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The followers of the Traditions.

They comprise five groups:

- (1) The Dāwūdīs: they are the partisans of Dāwūd b. (Alī al-Isfahānī. They are called the followers of outward meanings (Ashābi Zawahir) because they follow the literal meaning of the Traditions and the Quranic verses, and reject analogy. 1 3 6
- (2) The Shāfi'īs: they follow the Imam (Abdullāh b. Muḥammad b. Idrīs ash-Shāfi'ī al-Muṭṭalibī, may God be satisfied with him. His doctrine concerning the fundamentals of Religion and the unity of God is the same as has been mentioned; and the difference between him and the followers of personal opinion is about the branches (i.e., the statutes of law) except for one thing which is the Tradition (concerning) faith. In his opinion, there are three conditions for right faith, declaration with the tongue (31) believing in the heart, and acting according to the main principles (of the Religion), and, this being so, true faith is increased by devotion and decreased by disobedience (of God). The Shāfi'īs allow "ijtihād" (1) and analogy. 9 12 15 18
- (3) The Mālikīs: They are the followers of Mālik b. Anas who was the Imam of Irāq, and the author of the book of the Muwaṭṭa' (the paved path). Most of the people of the North West of Africa and of the frontiers 21 24

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(1) Exerting one's self to form an opinion in a legal or theological case about which nothing could be found in the Qur'an or the Traditions.

of Yaman hold his rite. The Mālikīs adhere to the Traditions of the Prophet, may the blessings of God be upon him. They eat the flesh of a domestic donkey and consider sodomy with their wives a lawful deed.

(4) The Hanbalīs: They are the followers of Ahmad b. Hanbal. Some of them attribute to God anthropomorphism. Ibn Hanbal was an old man when Shāfi<sup>(1)</sup> came upon the scene; Ibn Hanbal served Shāfi<sup>(1)</sup>, and holding the rein of the latter's horse, he said, "Follow as your example this rightly guided youth".

(5) The Ash<sup>(arīs</sup>: They are the followers of Alī b. Isma<sup>(īl</sup> al-Ash<sup>(arī</sup> who was one of the descendants of Abū-Mūsā al-Ash<sup>(arī</sup>.<sup>(1)</sup>

#### The followers of Personal Opinion.

They are those who follow the Imam Abū Ḥanīfah Nu<sup>(mān</sup> b. Thabit b. ul-Marzubān, al-Kūfī, al Fārisī, may God be satisfied with him. He elucidated questions of jurisprudence and compiled books on jurisprudence. He had disciples who flourished, like Abū Yusuf, the Qādī Muḥammad b. Ḥasan ash-Shaybānī, Zufar and Bu Muṭī<sup>(Balkhī</sup>, may God have mercy on them. According to his doctrine, faith is (attained) by declaring with the tongue and believing in the heart (and so) it is not subject to

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(1) The phrase: *وگردهی از او بگوشد* does not mean anything. The text seems to be corrupt here.



increase and decrease. They consider lawful, analogy, 1  
 "ijtihād" and "istiḥsān"(1). The doctors of law and  
 divinity (fugahā') of Khurāsān, who follow Abū Ḥanīfah 3  
 hold the Doctrine of the Sunnah and the Jamā'ah, as  
 regards the fundamentals. Some of the doctors of law  
 and divinity of Iraq hold the Doctrine of the Mu'tazilīs 6  
 concerning the fundamentals (the broad principles) and  
 they follow Abū Ḥanīfah in the branches

9

### The Mu'tazilīs

The fundamentals of their doctrine is that Almighty God  
 is eternal by His essence and not by His attributes. 12  
 They distinguish between the attributes identical with  
 the essence and those implying action, and, they say that  
 the former are like knowledge and omnipotence since it 15  
 cannot be said that He knew at one time and did not know  
 at another, or that He was omnipotent sometimes and was  
 not at other times. These attributes are identical with 18  
 the essence (i.e., not separate entities added to the  
 divine being) and, with all that resembles them, they are  
 declared eternal by the Mu'tazilīs. The attributes 21  
 implying action like creating and speaking are not  
 declared eternal by them, but these attributes are said

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(1) Adopting things not mentioned in the Qur'ān or the  
 Prophetic Traditions, if considered good and suitable  
 for everyday life, by them.



to be new because it is possible to say that He spoke to 1  
Moses but He did not speak to Pharaoh, and that He spoke  
at one time but that He did not speak at another, and 3  
for this reason they say that the Qur'ān is created.  
They deny (the possibility) of seeing Almighty God and  
say that He is not in such a form as to allow His being 6  
perceived by the senses, and seen with the eyes of the  
head. The eyes can never reach Him but He reaches them  
(Qur'ān, VI, 104). They deny the torture of the grave. 9  
About the interrogation by Munkar and Nakīr, they say that  
interrogation is needed by someone who may want to know  
what the belief of the person interrogated is. But God 12  
is the One who knows all the secret and invisible things,  
and so, He has no need for such questioning. Paradise  
and Hell are not yet created, but, they will be created 15  
on the Day of Resurrection according to the Qur'anic verse  
"One day the earth will be changed to a different earth,  
(and so will the heavens, and men will be marshalled forth, 18  
before God, the One, the Irresistible)" (Qur'ān: XIV, 49).<sup>(1)</sup>  
They say that God does not predestine sins, neither does  
He create fornication, unbelief or calumny, but these are 21  
the deeds of man, and so, he deserves punishment for them.  
Before action, man has free will. In their opinion, man  
trespasses beyond the limits of faith by committing a 24

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يَوْمَ تُجْبَلُ الْأَرْضُ غَيْرَ الْأَرْضِ وَالسَّمَاوَاتُ وَرُزُّوا لِلَّهِ الْوَاحِدِ الْقَهَّارِ (1)

mortal sin, but he does not become an unbeliever. He 1  
 becomes a grave sinner (fāsiq) and his state (as regards  
 belief) is called "the state intermediate between belief 3  
 and unbelief", by them. If he repents and vows to sin  
 no more he becomes a believer again, but if he dies with-  
 out doing so, he will stay in Hell for ever. Anyone 6  
 who is of the people of Paradise, will never see Hell,  
 and anyone who is in Hell, will never come out of it, but  
 he will remain there eternally. According to them, 9  
 prosperity and misery were not predestined from all eternity  
 but they are dependant on the deeds of man. They have no  
 dispute about the Companions of the Prophet, may the bless- 12  
 ings of God be upon him. A group of them declare the  
 superiority of 'Alī, may God honour his countenance, to  
 all other Companions. 15

The Mu'tazilīs comprise seven groups:

- (33) 1. The Ḥasanīs, followers of Ḥasani Baṣrī.  
 2. The Hudhaylīs, followers of Abu'l Hudhayl 'Allāf. 18  
 3. The Nazẓāmīs, followers of Nazẓām.  
 4. The Ma'marīs, followers of Ma'mar b. 'Abbād  
 as-Sulamī.  
 5. The Bishrīs, followers of Bishr b. ul-Mu'tamir 21.  
 6. The Jāhizīs, followers of 'Amr b. Baḥr al-Jāhiz.  
 7. The Ka'bis, followers of Abu'l Qāsim al-Ka'bī  
 al-Balkhī. 24



The Doctrine of the Shī'īs

The basis of their doctrine is that they consider 'Alī, 1  
 may God honour his countenance, entitled to the Imāmate  
 after the Prophet, may the blessings of God be upon him, 3  
 and that it was the right of his descendants after him.  
 They call the others unjust and tyrants. They say that  
 'Alī was designated as Imām by the Prophet in two texts, 6  
 one of which is an explicit text stating that, on the day  
 of the Water-hole of Khumm, the Prophet, may the blessings  
 of God be upon him, said, "The one who considers me his 9  
 lord, should consider 'Alī so (also)", and the other is  
 implicit, in which the Prophet, may the blessings of God  
 be upon him, said, "The best of you is 'Alī and his 12  
 relation to me is like that of Aaron to Moses, except  
 that there will be no prophet after me". They place  
 him above all others. In their opinion, no time is 15  
 devoid of an infallible Imām. They befriend those who  
 are friends of the family of the Prophet, and they abandon  
 altogether those who are its enemies. They allow 18  
 "Taqiyyah"<sup>(1)</sup> which means acting in an outward manner or  
 speech contrary to one's own belief out of fear of the  
 people. They reject wiping the covered feet as a sub- 21  
 stitute for washing but they allow wiping the back of  
 the feet, according to an outward interpretation of the

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(1) تَقِيَّة = disguise, caution. According to the Shī'ī usage, it means, dispensation from the requirements of the religion under compulsion or threat of injury.



Qur'anic verse, "Rub your heads and your feet" (Qur'an, V.7).1

Temporary marriages are considered lawful by them. They  
do not put one hand over the other when praying, but they 3

stretch them down, and according to them it is not

lawful to touch the earth or what grows from the earth  
with the forehead when prostrating themselves in prayer. 6

They cite their "Qunūt"(2) in every prayer. In the  
second "rak'ah"(3), after they finish citing (verses from)

the Qur'an, they raise their hands and say, "There is no god 9  
but God, the Gracious, the Generous! There is no god but

God, the Sublime, the Great! Glory be to Him the Lord

of the seven heavens, and what is in and between them. 12

He is the One Who hears and knows everything. Peace

be upon the envoys (of God) and praise be to Him, Who

is the Lord of the worlds". (34) They add to the 15

call to prayer the phrase, "Come to the best of works",

repeated twice. They consider it unlawful to pray while

wearing silk clothes. The prayer of anyone is spoilt if 18

he says the word "amīn" (amen) in it. They say that this

(1) The verse in full is, "O ye who believe! When ye prepare for prayer, wash your faces and your hands (and arms) to the elbows; rub your heads (with water) and (wash) your feet to the ankles.

(2) A certain praise of God to be said in prayer. An example of it is given below by our author.

(3) A sacred inclination of the head so that the palms of the hands rest upon the knees "in prayer".

word is not from the Qur'ān. Washing themselves on 1  
 Friday is considered a duty by them. They do not cite  
 (verses from) the Qur'ān after the imam<sup>(1)</sup>. Most of 3  
 their practices of worship correspond with some practices  
 of the rite of Shāf'ī. They raise their hands when stand-  
 ing and inclining (in the course of their prayer) and at 6  
 the time of rising up, after the second inclination  
 (rak'ah), they sit (before doing so). They reject  
 altogether ijtihād and analogy. As regards the broad 9  
 principles of their doctrine, they correspond with the  
 Mu'tazilīs in denying the possibility of seeing God and  
 rejecting anthropomorphism. They agree with them also 12  
 on the Doctrine of the Created Qur'ān, on declaring the  
 attributes of God, which imply action, not to be eternal,  
 and on the power of man to act. But they disagree with 15  
 them on one thing which is the fate of the mortal sinner  
 in Hell. The Mu'tazilīs say that if a mortal sinner dies  
 before repenting and vowing to sin no more, he will 18  
 remain eternally tortured in Hell. The Shī'īs say that  
 he will not remain (eternally), but, Almighty God may  
 have mercy on him and so bring him out of Hell, by His 21  
 grace and mercy. These are the fundamentals of the  
 Shī'ī Doctrine. The Shī'īs comprise five groups:

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(1) The leader in the collective prayer.



A. The Zaydīs

One of the Shī'ī groups are the followers of Zayd b. 1  
 'Alī who revolted in the time of the Umayyads. He was  
 arrested and killed. His son Yahyā b. Zayd fled to 3  
 Khurāsān. He was also arrested and killed in Gūzgānān  
 by order of Nasr b. Sayyār. His tomb is in Arghuwayh.  
 The basis of their doctrine is that after 'Alī, Hasan 6  
 and Husayn, may God be satisfied with them, any 'Alid, who  
 is infallible, may claim the Imamate. He must be one  
 of the descendants of 'Alī, pious and infallible. The 9  
 Zaydīs comprise five sub-groups:

(1) The Mughīrīs, followers of Kuthayyir an-Nawwā', whose  
 surname was "Abtar" and whose name was al-Mughīrah b. 12  
 Sa'id.

(2) The Jārūdīs, followers of Abu'l-Jārūd Ziyād b. Abī  
 Ziyād. (1) 15

(3) The Dhukayrīs, followers of Dhukayr b. Šafwān.

(4) The Khashabīs, followers of Surkhāb at-Tabarī. In  
 their rebellion, they used wooden weapons. 18

(5) The Khalafīs, followers of Khalaf b. 'Abd as-Šamad. (35)

B. The Kaysānīs

21

They are the followers of Kaysān who was a "ma'wla" of

'Alī b. Abī Tālib, may God honour his countenance.

Their doctrine is that the Imamate, after Hasan and Husayn 24

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(1) In MS. the name of this man is given like this.



returned to Muhammad b. 'Alī, who was called Ibn 1  
 ul-Hanafiyyah, because his mother's name was Hanafiyyah,  
 They say that he is alive, that he is not liable to death 3  
 and that he is hidden in a ravine in the (mountain) of  
 Radwā and when the time of his appearance comes he will  
 come out, take the world and fill it with justice. The 6  
 Kaysānīs comprise four sub-groups:

- (1) The Mukhtārīs, followers of Mukhtār b. 'Ubayd ath-Thaqafī.
- (2) The Karibīs, followers of Abū Karib ad-Darīr. 9
- (3) The Ishāqīs, followers of Ishāq b. 'Umar.
- (4) The Harbīs, followers of 'Abdullāh b. Harb.

12

### C. The Extremists (the Ghālīs)

These form the most base group of the Shī'īs; they are  
 absolute infidels. They are of that group of which one 15  
 came to 'Alī and said, "O most exalted 'Alī! Peace be  
 upon you!" 'Alī, may God honour his countenance, ordered  
 him to be burnt and said, "Two persons perish, the 18  
 exaggerator in love and the one who hates wickedly".

The Extremist Shī'ah comprise nine sub-groups:

- (1) The Kāmilīs, followers of Abū Kāmil. 21
- (2) The Saba'īs, followers of 'Abdullāh Saba'. (25)
- (3) The Mansūrīs, followers of Abū Mansūr 'Ijlī.
- (4) The Ghurābīs, they say that 'Alī b. Abī Tālib resembles 24  
 a raven.

- (36) (5) The Bazīghīs, followers of Bazīgh b. Yūnus. 1
- (6) The Ya'qūbīs, followers of Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb.
- (7) (The Ghamāmīs), they say that 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib 3  
comes to the world every time in the middle of  
the clouds.
- (8) The Ismā'īlīs, followers of Ismā'īl b. 'Alī. 6
- (9) The Azdarīs, they say that 'Alī, the father of Hasan  
and Husayn is not the (real) 'Alī; he is a man whom  
they call 'Alī al-Azdarī. But 'Alī who is the Imām 9  
has no sons because he is the Creator, may earth (fill)  
their mouths!

I heard the following from Sayyid 'Alī Abū Ṭālib, may 12  
God have mercy on him: "When I was at Kūfah,  
there was an old 'Alid who believed in that doctrine,  
proclaimed (his belief) and used to sign himself by, 'So 15  
and so al-Azdarī'". The relator (continued) to say, "I  
was at Kūfah when this 'Alid died. Because he was a well-  
known and honoured 'Alid, they buried him beside the 18  
sepulchre of the commander of the faithful, 'Alī, may God  
honour his countenance. That night a stench rose from his  
grave to such a degree that the people living near the 21  
sepulchre (of 'Alī) gathered (round the grave of this man).  
The people and sons of this 'Alid opened the grave, on that  
night, made it twenty cubits deep, then they buried him 24  
again. On the following day the stench increased and the  
people gathered round the grave, then, went away. On the



following night, the sons of this 'Alid took him secretly 1  
 from there and carried him to the place they wanted. His  
 belief so affected his condition that he became disgraced 3  
 in this way after his death. God protect us from being  
 deserted by Him!

#### D. The Fourth Group of the Shī'īs. 6

The basis of their doctrine is, outwardly, support and  
 love for the commander of the faithful, 'Alī, may God honour  
 his countenance, but, inwardly, it is absolute unbelief. 9  
 This doctrine arose in Egypt.

There was a man who was called Bū Maymūn Qaddāh (the  
 oculist), another one called 'Isā Chahār Lakhtān, and a third 12  
 called - so and so Dindānī. All the three were infidels  
 and unbelievers. They were intimate friends, and they used (37)  
 to eat and drink together. One day, Bū Maymūn Qaddāh said, 15  
 "I feel hatred for the religion of Muḥammad, but I have no  
 army to fight the Muslims, neither have I any wealth. But,  
 as regards plots and stratagems I am so clever that, if some- 18  
 body helps me, I will destroy the religion of Muḥammad".  
 'Isā Chahār Lakhtān said, "I have a big fortune. I will  
 spend it on this (matter) and withhold nothing". They agreed 21  
 on this. Bū Maymūn Qaddāh had a boy who was very good-  
 looking, and who was known for his beauty to such an extent  
 that this used to make him the subject of immoral deeds. 24



Bu Maymūn Qaddāh pretended to be a physician and able to 1  
 give salvation. He fixed on his boy's (head) long hair  
 like that of the 'Alids. 'Isā Chahār Lakhtān gave money 3  
 for this youth to be provided with all kinds of pomp and  
 luxury, and they put it round that he was an 'Alid and  
 that they were his servants. They brought him with great 6  
 magnificence to Egypt, never sat in his presence, and used  
 to speak to him with reverence and respect. They did not  
 allow anyone to reach him, till he grew in importance. 9  
 Then, they revealed their doctrine and said, "The divine  
 law has an exoteric meaning and an esoteric significance.  
 The exoteric meaning is the one which the Muslims follow 12  
 and to which they cling. But, there is an esoteric sig-  
 nificance to everything. The Prophet, may the blessings  
 of God be upon him, knew the esoteric meaning and he never 15  
 told it to anyone but 'Alī; 'Alī told it to his sons,  
 supporters and intimates. The one who knows the esoteric  
 meaning is spared the trouble of devotion and worship". 18  
 They call the Prophet, may the blessings of God be upon him,  
 the "nāṭiq" (the speaker) and 'Alī, may God be satisfied  
 with him, the "asās" (the foundation). Among them, they 21  
 use terms and titles (alqāb); thus, they call 'reason'  
 the 'antecedent and the 'first' (They say that it came  
 first into existence. They call the soul the 'second' 24  
 and the 'subsequent' and they mean by this that) (1)

(1)

Added from MS. عقل را سابقه خوانند و اول [گویند اول او بوجود آمد و نفس  
 را تالی خوانند و تالی هم خوانند] یعنی .....

the soul was produced by reason and that it produced every- 1  
 thing in the world. According to them, the interpretation  
 of the Qur'anic verse, "(I swear) by the fig and the olive, 3  
 and the mount of Sinai, (and this city which was made  
 secure .....)" (Qur'ān: XCV, 1-3), is said to be as  
 follows; "The fig is the mind which is all pulp; the soul 6  
 is the olive because it is softness mixed with density like  
 the olive with its stone; the mount of Sinai is the "nāṭiq"  
 or Muḥammad, may the blessings of God be upon him, who was, 9  
 outwardly, like a hard mountain and spoke to the people  
 with the sword, but, inwardly there were many things in him,  
 like a mountain which contains jewels; the secure city is 12  
 the "asās" or (Alī, by whom, the divine law was interpreted  
 and the people attained safety from evil.". In the same  
 way they have interpreted the four rivers of Paradise <sup>(1)</sup>. 15  
 Their intention is to abolish the divine law (38) May the  
 curses (of God) be upon them. They say (also) that the  
 Prophet, peace be upon him, is the father of the believers 18  
 and that (Alī is their mother, because the Prophet, by  
 learning and wisdom, caused (Alī to conceive (knowledge)  
 and thus they both gave birth to esoteric knowledge. They 21  
 say that the first thing which came into existence was the

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فِيهِمَا عَيْنَانِ تَجْرِيَانِ مَاءً حَلِيمًا كَاللَّبَنِ الْكَاسِيِ الرَّاسِ الْقَسِيمِ. In both of them are two  
 fountains flowing. (Qur'ān, IV, 50). See also: Qur'ān  
 LXXVI, 18; CVIII.



world of reason ('aql), then the world of the soul (nafs) 1  
 appeared and afterwards, all these created things came  
 into existence. Man is alive by the partial soul, and 3  
 when he dies, it rejoins the universal soul. If anyone  
 asks them how did the world of reason come into existence,  
 they say, "By order (amr)". If they are asked, "By whose 6  
 order?", they will say, "We do not know; we do not have  
 such a power that we can comprehend God, the Creator; we do  
 not say that He exists, neither do we say that He is non-existent;  
 but the profound scholars of divinity think that the second  
 (statement on God) which says that He is non-existent, is  
 the more reliable". May God be far above what they say! 12  
 (Qur'ān, XVII, 45). In this way, they led (many of the)  
 Muslims away from their religion. Although they quote  
 continuously the Qur'an and the Prophetic Traditions, yet, 15  
 if you study carefully what they say, you (will find)  
 that they deny the miracle of the moon. They say  
 that anything which happened to the Prophet, may the 18  
 blessings of God be upon him, was one of three things,  
 namely, striving, conquering or imagination, and, in their  
 opinion, Gabriel, Michael and Isrāfīl<sup>(1)</sup> are imaginary 21  
 visions. They say that the Prophet, may the blessings of  
 God be upon him, brought these laws for fools and ignorant  
 people in order to keep them continually occupied and in 24

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(1) The angel of death, who is to blow the last trumpet.



confusion, and to prevent them from meddling in what does 1  
 not concern them; otherwise, there is nothing in these  
 laws. They have established an allegorical interpretation 3  
 and an esoteric meaning for each of the commandments of  
 the divine law. If you examine them carefully (you will  
 find) that all of them have striven to abolish the divine 6  
 law. May God curse them! Thus, they interpret the  
 tradition stating that the Prophet, may the blessings of  
 God be upon him, said, "The grave is either one of the 9  
 gardens of Paradise or one of the pits of Hell", as  
 follows: "The meaning of this grave is the human body;  
 it is the grave of man's person in which his soul is 12  
 enclosed; if a man is a Bāṭinī (Esoteric) and exempts  
 himself from (the commandments) of the divine law, he  
 will suffer no trouble and his body will be a garden of 15  
 Paradise; but, if he does not know the esoteric meaning  
 and the allegorical interpretation of the divine law, he  
 will suffer the trouble of devotion and worship, and so, 18  
 his body will be a pit of Hell". About the Tūbā tree  
 which is said to be a tree in Paradise, they say that there is  
 no place which is not reached by a branch of this tree. 21  
 Their allegorical interpretation of this is that it is the  
 sun which occupies the whole world every day, and, there  
 is not a place in any residence which is not reached by 24  
 a ray descending from it.(39)They have given interpretations

like this to the Qur'ān, the divine law, prayer, the fast, 1  
the pilgrimage (to Mecca) and the faith, and, if we give an  
explanation to each of these interpretations, it would make 3  
a long work. The amount which we have mentioned is a  
sufficient example. Their doctrine is based on the number  
seven. Outwardly, they acknowledge seven of the Prophets, 6  
although, inwardly, they deny them all. They say that the  
Imams are seven, and the one who has not yet appeared and,  
who is still being awaited, is called "The Master of the Time" 9  
by them. On the festival of breaking the fast of Ramaḍān,  
they collect a 'diram' (1) and a 'dang' (2) from everybody,  
i.e, seven dangs. In every city they have a man who is 12  
charged with summoning the people to their doctrine. They  
call him 'the Master of the Island' (Ṣaḥib-i Jazīrah) and,  
under him, there are missionaries (du'āh) in every town. 15  
A person to whom they expose their faith is called a  
"mustajīb" (neophyte). Two persons are known to have reached  
the position of 'the Master of the Island' in our time. 18  
One of them is Nāṣir-i Khusrau, whose residence was Yumgān.  
He misled the people and his doctrine appeared there. The  
other is Ḥasan-i Ṣabbāḥ who stayed in Isfahān, then went 21  
from there to Rayy and disappeared. He summoned (the people)  
to this doctrine and caused many of the people of Khurāsān .

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(1)

See; E.1, art. Dirham.

(2)

A sixth of anything. (Steingass).



and Irāq to lose their way. There was a man in Ghaznain 1  
 who was called Muḥammad Adīh. He was a missionary of the  
 Egyptians who led astray a large number of people in the 3  
 city and the surrounding country. This amount has been  
 written in order that, if a person hears some talk of this  
 sort, he will know that it comes from them and will neither 6  
 pay any heed to it, nor be deceived by those people. We  
 have said that they comprise two groups:

(1) The Nāṣirīs: followers of Nāṣir-i Khusrau who was 9  
 a most accursed fellow. He was an author and wrote the  
 book of "Wajh ad-Dīn" and the book of "Dalīl ul-Mutahayyirin"  
 about infidelity and unbelief. Many people from 12  
 Tabaristan went astray and followed this doctrine.

(2) The Ṣabbāḥīs: Followers of Ḥasan-i. Ṣabbāḥ, a man  
 whose language was Arabic and, who was originally from 15  
 Egypt. He made many (false) claims.

E. The Imāmī Ithnā'ashrīs (the Twelver Shī'īs). 18

They are one group. No party of the Shī'īs is bigger  
 than they. There are very many of them in Irāq, Mazandar-  
 ān and Khurāsān. Their belief is the same as what has 21  
 been mentioned concerning the Doctrine of the Shī'īs.  
 They perform fiftyone "rak'as" in their prayers every day.  
 Those which are obligatory are the same as are well known 24  
 and the rest are voluntary. The prostration of thanks,



after each prayer, is considered a duty by them, and, in it 1  
 they do not cite verses from any chapter of the Qur'ān in  
 which there is a prostration verse, in order not to bring 3  
 together two kinds of prostration, that of the prayer and  
 that of the Qur'ān reading. They present their sacrifices  
 before performing the prayer of the Adḥa festival. In 6  
 their opinion "fuqqā"(1) is forbidden like wine, and  
 they relate after the Prophet, may the blessings of God be  
 upon him, (a Tradition stating) that he forbade the drinking 9  
 of it. According to them, it is unlawful to eat the flesh  
 of the hare. They allow marriage in the absence of the  
 witnesses and the guardian, but, divorce is not valid unless 12  
 (two) just and unobjectionable witnesses (adl) are present.  
 They support this opinion by a literal interpretation of  
 the following Qur'anic verse: "Retain them with kindness 15  
 or separate them with kindness and call to witness two men of  
 justice from among you". (Qur'ān: LXV, 2). They say  
 that Almighty God stipulated evidence in the case of 18  
 divorce but not in that of marriage. As regards the triple  
 divorce which is allowed, they say that it is not lawful as  
 God Almighty said, "A divorce is only permissible twice". 21  
 (Qur'ān: 11, 229). They exclaim, "God is greatest!  
 (Allahu akbar)" five times in the prayer for a dead person

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(1) A kind of drink made of water and barley.

(namāz-i janāza) because they say that it is not an ordinary 1  
 prayer but an invocation, and so, they allow its perform-  
 ance without the obligatory purification that precedes 3  
 the prayers. They say that the legitimate Imām after  
 the Prophet, may the blessings of God be upon him, was  
 the commander of the faithful, 'Alī, and they consider 6  
 him superior to all the prophets who came before (Muhammad).  
 After him, they recognise his descendants, who succeeded  
 to the Imamate in sequence down to the twelfth Imam; 9  
 they have given their names in order with a description  
 of their affairs. No one but 'Alī is called "the comman-  
 der of the faithful" (amīr al-mu'minīn) by them, and his 12  
 descendants are called the Imāms. They declare Abū Bakr,  
 'Umar and 'Uthmān, may God be satisfied with them, tyrants,  
 unjust and rebellious and everything they did is said to 15  
 be illegitimate by the Shī'īs. They consider and  
 recognise Fadak as an inheritance to which Fāṭimah, may  
 God be satisfied with her, was entitled (and in support 18  
 of this, they mention the following Qur'ānic verse:  
 "Solomon inherited from David" (Qur'ān: XXVII, 16).  
 They believe in two returns "(raḡ'at)(1), and they say 21  
 that no community has been without a return, and the  
 examples of those who returned are 'Uzayr (Ezra) the  
Companions of the Cave (2) and those who were similar to them.

(1)

The part enclosed in brackets of the following is lacking  
 in Iqbāl's edition: *وذلك ميراث فاطمة رضي الله عنهما رواه ابنه وداود [وغيره] و...*  
*آيت حجت كنند ودرست سليمان داود [وغيره] و...*

(2) The seven sleepers whose history is related in the  
 18th ch. of the Qur'an.



In support of this, they mention the following Qur'ānic 1  
verse: "Didst thou not turn by vision to those who aban-  
doned their homes, although, they were thousands (in 3  
number) for fear of death? God said to them: 'Die', then  
He restored them to life". (Qur'ān: 11, 244).<sup>(41)</sup>The  
prayer for their friends is considered a duty by them and 6  
so is imprecation against their enemies, opponents and the  
like (of these). They call the one who follows their  
doctrine a believer because this quality is attributed to 9  
a person who is outwardly and inwardly a believer. But  
a person who is outwardly a believer, although, inwardly,  
he is otherwise, is called a "Muslim" by them, because he 12  
attained safety from the sword (by acting in this way),  
although he is not a believer. In support of this they  
mention the following Qur'ānic verse: "The desert Arabs 15  
say, 'We believe'. Say, 'Ye have no faith; but ye (only)  
say, (We have submitted our wills to God), for not yet has  
faith entered your hearts!'" (Qur'ān: XLIX, 14). They 18  
believe that Almighty God practises "Badā, "<sup>(1)</sup>. The  
continued existence of the Twelfth Imam and his long  
concealment are declared to be true by them and (this 21  
declaration) is according to a text about him by a former  
Imam. On this subject, I saw a book, with full explanations,

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(1) Read *بداء* instead of *بد*.



written by Sayyid Murtadā. This book is called "al-Muqni' 1  
 fi'l-Ghayba" (conclusive proofs about the Concealment).  
 Now, two tables will be given, on two pages, containing 3  
 the names, the dates and the conditions of the twelve  
 Imams, according to the doctrine of those people, so that  
 the reader may become informed about them. 6  
 (42,43) (1) (Alī:- Kunya: Abu'l Hasan. Laqab (epithet):  
 Murtadā (he in whom God is well pleased). Born at Mecca,  
 thirty years after the Year of the Elephant; died in the 9  
 year 40 A.H.; lived for sixty-three years; his grave is  
 in Ghary near Kūfah. Mother: Fāṭimah bint Asad. Name  
 of his killer: (Abd ur-Rahmān b. Muljam. 12  
 (2) Al-Ḥasan b. (Alī:- Kunya: Abū Muḥammad. Laqab:  
 az-Zakī (the virtuous). Born <sup>at</sup> Madīnah in the year 2 A.H.;  
 died at Madīnah in the year 49 A.H.; lived for 47 years; 15  
 his grave is at Madīnah. Mother: Fāṭimah, daughter of  
 the Prophet. Name of his killer: Ja'dah b. Ash'ath b.  
 Qays. 18  
 (3) Al-Ḥusayn b. (Alī:- Kunya: Abū (Abdullāh Laqab: ash-  
 Shahīd (the martyr). Born at Madīnah in the year 4 A.H.;  
 died in the year 61 A.H.; lived for 57 years; his grave 21  
 is at Karbilā'. Mother: Fāṭimah, daughter of the Prophet.  
 Names of his killers: Shammār and Sinan, may God curse them.

- (4) 'Alī b. ul-Ḥusayn:- Kunya: Abu Ibrāhīm. Laqab: 1  
 Zayn ul-ʿĀbidīn (the ornament of the worshippers of God).  
 Born at Madīnah in the year 38 A.H.; died at Madīnah in 3  
 the year 110 A.H.; lived for 27 years (sic); his grave is  
 at Madīnah. Mother: Shahrbanū bint Yazdagard. Name  
 of his killer: Hishām. 6
- (5) Muhammad b. 'Alī:- Kunya: Abū Jaʿfar. Laqab: al-  
 Bāqir (the splitter i.e., the investigator). Born at  
 Tayyibah (Madīnah) in the year 59 A.H.; died at Madīnah 9  
 in the year 119 A.H.; lived for 60 years; his grave is  
 at Madīnah. Mother: Qarībah bint ul-Hāshim b. Muḥammad  
 b. Abī Bakr. Name of his killer: Ibrāhīm b. Walīd. 12
- (6) Jaʿfar b. Muḥammad:- Kunya: Abu ʿAbdullāh. Laqab;  
 as-Sādiq (the trustworthy). Born at Madīnah in the year  
 83 A.H.; died in the year 148 A.H.; lived for 65 years; 15  
 his grave is at Madīnah. Mother: Ḥamīdah al-Barbariyyah.  
 Name of his killer: Mansūr.
- (7) Mūsā b. Jaʿfar:- Kunya: Abū Ibrāhīm. Laqab: al- 18  
 Kāzim (he who restrains his anger). Born in the year  
 108 A.H.; died in the year 164 A.H.; lived for 56 years;  
 his grave is in the cemetery of Quraysh. Mother: Umm 21  
 ul-Banīn. Name of his killer: Hārūn ar-Rashīd.
- (8) 'Alī b. Mūsā:- Kunya: Abu'l Ḥasan. Laqab: ar-  
 Ridā (the well-beloved). Born at Madīnah in the year 24



148 A.H.; died at Tūs in the year 203 A.H.; lived 1  
for 55 years; his grave is at Tūs. Mother: Khayzurān.  
Name of his killer: Ma'mūn. 3

(9) Muḥammad b. 'Alī:- Kunya: Abū Ja'far. Laqab: at-  
Taqi (the pious). Born at Madīnah in the year 195 A.H.;  
died in the year 210 A.H.; lived for 25 years (sic); 6  
his grave is in the cemetery of Quraysh. Mother:  
Sumānah. Name of his killer: Umm ul-Faḍl bint ul-Ma'mūn.

(10) 'Alī b. Muḥammad:- Kunya: Abu'l Ḥasan. Laqab: 9  
an-Naqī (the pure). Born at Madīnah in the year 212 A.H.  
died in the year 254 A.H.; lived for 42 years; his grave  
is at Surra-Man-Ra'ā. Mother: Ḥadīthah. Name of his 12  
killer: al-Musta'in.

(11) Al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-'Askarī:- Kunya: Abu Muḥammad.  
Laqab: az-Zakī (the virtuous). Born in the year 232 A.H. 15  
died in the year 260 A.H.; lived for 28 years. His  
grave is at Surra-Man-Ra'ā. Mother: Ḥakīmah. Name of  
his killer: al-Mutawakkil. 18

(12) Muḥammad b. ul-Ḥasan:- Kunya: Abu'l Qāsim. Laqab:  
al-Mahdī (the rightly guided). Born at Surra-Man-Ra'ā 21  
in the year 255 A.H.

(44) According to their doctrine, the twelve Imams are  
infallible. Each of them worked a "Mu(jiza" (1) and a 24

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(1) A miracle wrought by God through his prophets in  
proof of their mission.



"karāmat"<sup>(2)</sup> and each of them was manifest among his 1  
 partisans, during his life, and their juridical decisions  
 and answers are well-known. At the time of death, each 3  
 one of them designated another as Imam, till the Imamate  
 reached Ḥasani (Askarī who transmitted it to his son Abu'l  
 -Qāsim<sup>(3)</sup> and said, "He is the Mahdī and the Master of the 6  
 Time". The Twelfth Imām was born at Sāmarra (Surra-Mam-  
 Ra'a) in the year 255 A.H. In Sāmarra there is an  
 underground chamber in which, it is said, this child went 9  
 and disappeared. The people make pilgrimage to this  
 place. 230 lunar years have elapsed since the birth of  
 this Imām till the time of the composition of this book. 12  
 It is God who knows better what is true and correct!

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(2) A miracle performed by holy men.

(3) M.S.

The Doctrine of the Khārijīs

The beginning of the Doctrine of the Khārijīs and the 1  
 appearance of their opinion goes back to the time of the  
 battle of Ṣiffīn<sup>(1)</sup> which was between the commander of 3  
 the faithful, 'Alī, may God be satisfied with him, and  
 Mu'āwiyah. The war extended over a long period and the  
 reason for this was that the party of 'Alī never started 6  
 hostilities, and, whenever the other party abandoned  
 fighting, 'Alī, also, used to restrain his partisans.  
 Otherwise, the affair could not have been thus prolonged. 9  
 Until one day, the struggle became violent. Mālik b.  
 ul-Ashtar an-Nakha'ī advanced and strove to settle the  
 matter decisively at that time. Mu'āwiyah said to 12  
 'Amr b. ul-'Ās, "Have you any stratagem?" 'Amr b.  
 ul-'Ās said, "I still, have one stratagem left, and that  
 is all. It is as follows: 'Order all the copies of 15  
 the Qur'ān which can be found with the soldiers to be  
 collected and fastened to the points of lances. Then,  
 make the soldiers shout, (The book of Almighty God is 18  
 the judge between us and you. We will accept what comes  
 out of it)". They acted in this way, and, the partisans  
 of 'Alī stopped fighting, for this reason. Although, 21

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(1) Ṣafar 37 A.H. = July 637 A.D.



(Alī told them that this was a deception and a stratagem 1  
 they did not listen to him and said, "We cannot, by any  
 means, fight the people who will deal with us according 3  
 to the book of Almighty God". They ordered the command-  
 er of the faithful, (Alī, to restrain (the rest of) his  
 partisans from fighting. At that time, Mālik b. ul- 6  
 Ashtar and his companions were fighting bravely. The  
 partisans of (Alī said to him, "Call Mālik back from the  
 combat". (Alī sent a person to Mālik (with orders) to 9  
 stop fighting. (45) Mālik said, "The battle has reached  
 a critical moment. Patience must be exercised till it  
 is settled". The partisans of (Alī, may God be satis- 12  
 fied with him, drew their swords on him and said, "If  
 you do not restrain him from the combat, we will kill  
 you". (Alī sent a person to Mālik b. ul-Ashtar to say 15  
 the following to him: "If you are fighting this battle  
 on my behalf, abandon it, lest, by the time you reach me,  
 I have been killed; then, your effort will have been 18  
 wasted". When Mālik heard this, he became sad, stopped  
 fighting, went to where (Alī was and reproached those  
 people. They drew their swords and advanced upon him, 21  
 but, (Alī, went between the two parties and calmed the  
 outbreak. Then, they sent a person to the camp of  
 Mu(āwiyah to ask what the purpose of raising the copies 24  
 of the Qur'ān (on lances) was. They said to him,  
 "Very many thousands of the Muslims are going to be

killed. Two arbiters should be chosen from both armies 1  
 and what they will decide about this matter should be  
 accepted". However much the commander of the faithful, 3  
 'Alī, told his partisans that all of this was deception  
 and fraud, it was of no use, and they did not obey him.  
 They said, "What they have proposed, must be done", and 6  
 they agreed on this. 'Amr b. ul-Ās was chosen on the  
 side of Mu'āwiyah, and 'Alī said, "I will send 'Abdullāh  
 b. 'Abbās on my side". All the partisans of 'Alī said, 9  
 "We do not approve of this at all, because, he is your  
 cousin. An outsider must be sent". They nominated  
 Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī who arose in accordance with their 12  
 agreement, but, without the consent of 'Alī, may God be  
 satisfied with him. Although, 'Alī did not approve  
 this nomination, he was helpless in their hands and 15  
 said, "He, who is disobeyed, has no opinion". Abū  
 Mūsā al-Ash'arī was a simple-hearted man, while 'Amr b.  
 ul-Ās was one of the shrewdest men of the world; even, 18  
 in their first conference, he deceived Abū Mūsā. 'Amr  
 gave Abū Mūsā precedence in walking and sitting so that  
 Abū Mūsā would say what he wanted, at first, (on the 21  
 day of the arbitrament) and then, 'Amr would be able to  
 say what he liked. Abū Mūsā allowed himself to be  
 taken in by this blandishment and used to precede 'Amr 24



when they were walking together, and to sit above him. 1  
 A long time passed on this way and 'Amr b. ul-'Ās found  
 things going according to his wish. He prepared the 3  
 mind of Abū Mūsā al-Ash'arī for carrying out his desire  
 until, one day, he said to him, "O Abū Mūsā! I have  
 made a plan, and thought of something which is to the 6  
 common interest of the Muslims. It is thus: there is  
 no dispute about the greatness of 'Alī, but the people  
 of Syria do not want him. Mu'āwiyah, himself, is not 9  
 suitable for this affair. (46) In my opinion, (1) no  
 one is more worthy of this office than you, for you  
 are among the companions of the Prophet and you have 12  
 the privilege of having migrated". Abū Mūsā was taken  
 in by this story and said to 'Amr b. ul-'Ās, "Since they  
 have made me an arbiter, how can I choose myself?". 15  
 'Amr said, "Do not choose yourself. You, only, remove  
 your man (i.e., 'Alī) from the affair so that I can  
 bring you into it, because the common good lies in this. 18  
 Abū Mūsā said, "This sounds very right", and both of them  
 agreed on this (plan). The appointed day came, and,  
 many people, from both sides, assembled. Abū Mūsā 21  
 arrived with Amr. b. ul-'Ās walking behind him till he

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(1) Read

هناك مبین

instead of ..... هناك

sat down. The people fixed their eyes on them to see 1  
 what was going to happen. Abū Mūsā stood up and made  
 his speech (in which) he praised Almighty God and the 3  
 Prophet, peace be upon him, then he said, "You have  
 entrusted to us two the arbitrament. For two months  
 we have been considering this matter from all sides and 6  
 we have made a plan. We think that the right thing is  
 to remove (Alī from this post as a ring is removed from  
 the finger. Then he took his ring off his right hand 9  
 and put it on (a finger of) his left hand. Then, (Amr  
 stood up and made his speech, in which, he said, "As  
 Abū Mūsā had dismissed (Alī from his post, I have appoint-12  
 ed Mu(āwiyah to it". Abū Mūsā eagerly hoped that (Amr  
 would nominate him for this post as he had promised.  
 But when (Amr did not do so, Abū Mūsā became disappointed 15  
 and shouted, "O perfidious one! O imposter! You told  
 (me) lies and deceived (me). It is about the like of  
 you that Almighty God said in the Qur'an, 'His like is 18  
 as the like of the dog: if you attack him he lolls out  
 his tongue, (and if you leave him alone he lolls out his  
 tongue)'." (Qur'an: VII, 175). (Amr ibn ul-(Ās said, 21  
 "It is you who is the liar and the imposter! And about



the like of you Almighty God said in the Qur'an, 'Like 1  
a donkey which carries huge volumes (but understands  
them not)' (Qur'an: XII,5)" they accused each other of perfidy<sup>3</sup>, then

Discussion took place among the people and they  
dispersed. Some of them set out for their homes. As  
they were on their way back, a group of the partisans 6  
of 'Alī assembled and said, "Why did 'Alī accept the  
judgement of the two arbiters and turn away from the  
judgement of God? He has become an unbeliever by what 9  
he has done, and, we must fight him till he becomes a  
Muslim again and repents of this sin; otherwise, we  
will kill him". They remained firm in this opinion 12  
and their doctrine appeared on that day.

That group of men who had started (47) this discuss-  
ion laid the foundation of this doctrine and called the 15  
people to embrace it. The distinguishing sign and  
signal among them was (the formula), "Judgement belongs  
to God alone". They became powerful. Three or four 18  
thousand men joined together in this allegiance and they  
notified 'Alī. 'Alī called those people who were the  
most eminent, gave them advice and counsel, but, this 21  
was of no use and they did not follow his words. They  
said, "So long as we are in the army, none of our  
purposes will be achieved. The right thing (to do) is

to leave the army, so that we can accomplish something". 1  
 Then, they left the army of (Alī, assembled at Nahrawān  
 and carried on rebellion and plundering. (Alī, may 3  
 God be satisfied with him, exercised patience and  
 endurance till the matter became unbearable. (Alī,  
 may God be satisfied with him, rose up, went to them, 6  
 called several of their distinguished leaders and spokes-  
 men and said to them "I was powerful through your support.  
 You were my friends. For what reason did you revolt 9  
 against me?". They answered, "We were your friends so  
 long as you were a Muslim. But when you became an un-  
 believer, we turned away from you. If you confess your 12  
 sin, repent of it, vow to sin no more and become a Muslim  
 again, we will follow you as before. If not, we will  
 fight you till either we kill you or all of us perish". 15  
 (Alī, may God be satisfied with him, said, "What sin have  
 I committed?". They answered, "You accepted the judge-  
 ment of men and turned aside from the judgement of God, 18  
 and, Almighty God says, 'If anyone fails to judge by  
 'the light of) what God hath revealed, they are (not  
 better than) unbelievers'. Qur'ān: V,48)". (Alī, 21  
 may God be satisfied with him, said, "On the day of the  
 two arbiters, I told you that what they were doing was a



deception and a fraud, but, you did not obey me, and, 1  
 forced me and my partisans to stop fighting. Now,  
 what will you say to me about this?". They said, 3  
 "Yes! On that day, we, also, were unbelievers, and,  
 we committed a sin like you. Now, we have repented,  
 vowed to sin no more and become Muslims again, You, 6  
 also, confess your sin and become a Muslim once more!".  
 (Ali, may God be satisfied with him, said, "Glory be to  
 God! I became a believer before all the created beings 9  
 on the surface of the earth, migrated with the Prophet  
 of Almighty God, and threw down heroes before him. Now,  
 in my old age, shall I give evidence of being an un- 12  
 believer, shall I become a Muslim once more, and waste  
 all my efforts? (48) And, if someone else gives judge-  
 ment for you in the case of a believer, why should the 15  
 latter become an unbeliever? Did not Almighty God  
 order mediators (to be called) in the case of a quarrel  
 that happens between a woman and her husband? He, the 18  
 Almighty and Glorious said, 'Appoint two arbiters, one  
 from his family and the other from hers'. (Qur'ān: IV,  
 39). And, as regards the value of game that was killed 21  
 in the Ḥaram<sup>(1)</sup>, did he not order it to be estimated by

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(1) The territory and temple of Mecca.

two just men? He glory be to Him, said, '(Oh ye who 1  
 believe! Kill not game while in the Sacred Precincts<sup>c</sup> 2  
 or in pilgrim garb. If any of you do so intentionally 3  
 his expiation is an offering made to the Ka'ba, of an  
 animal equivalent to the one he killed), as adjudged by  
 two just men among you'. (Qur'ān, V, 96). After all, 6  
 I did not approve of the arbitration of the two arbiters  
 and, you unfairly, forced it on me. It became evident 8  
 that what they had done was nothing but a deception and  
 a fraud. And, even if I had approved of the arbitration 10  
 why should I have become an unbeliever?" And he went on  
 mentioning such arguments till 1500 men rejoined him and 12  
 repented. But the others insisted on their bad belief  
 and made their army quarters at Nahrawān. They believ-  
 ed that man becomes an unbeliever by committing a mortal 15  
 or a venial sin. They killed any Muslim they found,  
 whether he was a man or a woman, young or old. (Alī,  
 may God be satisfied with him, endured, and, used to 18  
 give them advice every day, but, this was of no use.  
 One day, he was told that they seized two men who, with  
 two women and two donkeys, were passing by them. They 21  
 questioned them about their faith. One of the two men  
 said that he was a Christian and that the woman, with  
 him, was his wife. They allowed him and his wife to go 24



and they did not injure them. The other said that he 1  
 was a Muslim. They killed him, his wife and caused  
 the child, with whom she was pregnant, to perish. 3  
 When news of this reached the commander of the faith-  
 ful (Alī, he said, "There should be no delay in (deal-  
 ing with) this matter". He mounted (his horse) and 6  
 went out to fight them. He called them to the (obed-  
 ience of) God, the religion and the divine laws, in  
 the proper way. They did not respond; on the con- 9  
 trary, they showed more disobedience and started host-  
 ilities. War broke out and they were killed. Sāhib  
 ath-Thudayyah whose sign was described to (Alī by the 12  
 Prophet, may the blessings of God be upon him, was  
 (1) found, after they had made a long search for him, and  
 this story is well-known. Since that time, the doc- 15  
 trine of the Kharijīs reappeared among the people.  
 They deny (Alī and anyone who followed him. There has  
 been a group of them, in every time, and, among them, 18  
 eloquent men, able orators and great fighters flourished  
 such as Nāfi' i Azraq, Qaṭarī b. ul-Fuḡā'ah at-Tamīmī,  
 Dahḥāk b. Qays and others like them. 21

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(1) Read *بافتند* instead of *نیفتند*.

- The Khārijīs comprise fifteen groups: 1
- (1) The Azraqīs, partisans of Nāfi' b. Azraq.
  - (2) The Najdīs, partisans of Najdah b. 'Amir al-Hanafī. 3
  - (3) The 'Ajrādīs, partisans of Abd ul-Karīm b. 'Ajrād.
  - (4) The Khāzimīs, partisans of Shu'ayb b. Khāzim.
  - (5) The Tha'labīs, partisans of Tha'labah b. 'Amir. 6
  - (6) The Jarūdīs, partisans of 'Abdullāh b. Jarūd.
  - (7) The Sufrīs, partisans of Ziyād b. ul-Aṣfar.
  - (8) The Ibādīs, partisans of 'Abdullāh b. Ibād. 9
  - (9) The Ḥafsīs, partisans of Ḥafs b. ul-Miqdam.
  - (10) The Bayhasīs, partisans of Abū Bayhas b. Haysam.
  - (11) The Yazīdīs, partisans of Yazīd b. Unaysah. 12
  - (12) The Shamrākhīs, partisans of 'Abdullāh b. Shamrākh.
  - (13) The Fadlīs, partisans of Fadl b. 'Abdullāh.
  - (14) The Dahhākīs, partisans of Dahhāk b. Qays. 15
  - (15) The Bida'īs, partisans of Yahyā b. Aṣram.

They affirm that they will certainly enter Paradise.

The Khārijīs were, originally, one sect with one 18  
doctrine. Each of these groups which we have mentioned  
engaged in a quarrel and a great rebellion. Some of the  
common people accuse the Jarūdīs of doing the most useless 21  
deeds and of saying that they do so because of their anger  
with 'Alī. But this statement has no foundation.



In most of the books a great amount has been written 1  
on the exposition of the doctrine of the Khārijīs. That  
which has been written here is an abridgement of accurate 3  
information about them. If details are required,  
reference should be made to the book of Aḥsan ul-Kibār.

NOTES

on the

BAYĀN AL-ADYĀN.



NOTES ON THE BAYĀN AL-ADYĀN.

CHAPTER I.

(p.4, l. 1.) and the Sunnī sect may appreciate....

The author presents himself here as a Sunnī. It has been proved in the introduction that he was a Shī'ī and that he practised in his book the Shī'ī principle of "taqiyyah" (dissimulation).

(p.7, l. 1.) Musaylimah al-Kadhhdhāb.

Musaylimah b. Ḥabīb called by the Muslims al-Kadhhdhāb, (the imposter), was from the Banū Ḥanīfah, a clan of the tribe Bakr b. Wā'il. He revolted against Islam in Yamāmah, his native land, sometime in the year 10 A.H. (631/2 A.D.). According to some authorities, it is said that he revolted when the Prophet was taken ill after his last pilgrimage to the Ka'bah<sup>(1)</sup>. In any case, the Banū Ḥanīfah followed him. According to Ṭabarī, the number of his followers was estimated to be 40,000<sup>(2)</sup>. It is related that Musaylimah did not deny the Prophethood of Muḥammad, but he claimed partnership with him in this matter. In a letter, alleged to have been sent by Musaylimah to Muḥammad<sup>(3)</sup>, he put forward this claim.

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(1) Ṭabarī, vol.I, p.1749.

(2) Ibid, p.1930.

(3) Muḥammad b. Ishāq, Sīrat ur-rasūl, p.965. Gottingen, 1859.

This letter, if authentic, shows that his rejection of Islam was, like that of other tribal leaders, based on his objection to the expansion of the authority of Quraysh over his tribe. About his teachings some information has been given by Buhl<sup>(1)</sup>. Some sentences in which, it is said, he tried to imitate the Qur'an, are related by Muslim historians<sup>(2)</sup>.

In the year 11 A.H. Khālīd b. ul-Walīd, the great Muslim leader, was sent with an army by the caliph Abū Bakr to fight Musaylimah and to restore the Banū Ḥanīfah to Islām. The latter were defeated by the Muslims and Musaylimah himself was killed in the battle. His killers who both struck him at the same time were an Abyssinian freedman who was called Wahshī and a man from the Anṣār<sup>(3)</sup>.

(For details on Musaylimah see: Tabarī, vol I, p.1737,38, 1748-50, 95-98, 1824,71,80, 1915-20,29-49,77,78, Vol.II,1287.

Muhammad b. Ishāq: Sīrat ur-rasūl, p.566,945,46,65. Göttingen, 1859.

Ibn ul-Athīr: vol.II, p.165,227-29,40,59,60,62,69-72,74-78; vol.V,8; vol.VII,20.);

E.I., art. Musaylima (Bib.)

(p.7, 1.2)                      Raḥmān ul-Yamāmah.

See: Maqdisī: al-Bad' wa't-tārīkh, vol.I, p.61, 1,6,7; vol.V, p.160.

(1) See: E.I., art. Musaylima.

(2) E.g. in Ibn Ishāq, Sīrat, p.946.

(3) Tabarī, vol I, p.1940, 43.



(p.7, 1.2,3) His story will be mentioned.....

The story of Musaylimah is not to be found in the present text of this book. It falls within the scope of chapter V which is about "some people who pretended to be God and others who made claim to prophethood". This chapter is lost from our present text.

(p.7, 1. 11-12) In the Period of Ignorance....poetry...

See examples of pre-Islamic poems mentioning Allāh and ar-Rahmān in: Maqdisī, vol I, p.61,62.

(p.8, 1. 5-11) The (ancient) Persians..... to God.

This statement corresponds with that in Maqdisī, (vol.I, p.62, 1.5-8). The latter says, "The Persians (call God) Hurmuz, Izad and Yazdān and they state that their worship of fire brings them nearer to Almighty God, because fire is the strongest element and the greatest principle. This resembles what the Arab polytheists (mushrikūn) said about their worship of their idols, "We only serve them in order to bring us nearer to God"."

(p.8, 1, 16). Maqdisī.

The Maqdisī meant here is Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī. The name of his book quoted by Abu 'l-Ma'ālī is al-Bad' wa't-tārīkh (the Book of Creation and History). This book was written in the year 355 A.H.<sup>(1)</sup> It was edited and

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(1) Maqdisī, vol I, p.6, 1. 11.

published with a French translation by Clement Huart between the years 1899-1916. No biographical details are known about this Maqdisī, except that he was at Bust in Sijistān when he wrote this book<sup>(1)</sup>.

(p.8, l.17-33) in Persia.....angels.

The statement which Abu 'l-Ma'ālī has quoted from Maqdisī seems to be the following:

"Once I entered into the fire-temple of Khūz(al-Ahwāz) which is one of the old chief towns (kūrah) of Persia proper. I asked (the priests) about the mention of the Creator in their book. They brought forth some writings which they alleged were the Avesta, the book brought to them by Zoroaster. They read in their own language and explained to me according to their understanding of the Persian: 'Fīgomān-ham bihishtē Hormuz o-Bishtāspendān; figomān-ham ristakhīz.' They told me that 'Hurmuz' is the name of the Creator in their language, that 'Bishtāspendān' are the angels and that 'ristakhīz' means (the world) is finished, so, get up<sup>(2)</sup>."

(p.8, l.17-18). Zand, Pazand and Avesta.

In the published text of the history of Maqdisī, there is no mention by this author that the book of Zoroaster has

(1) Cl. Huart. Journal Asiatique: XVIII, 1901, p.20.

(2) Maqdisī, vol I, p.62, l. 11 - p.63, l.3.



been divided into three parts, neither does he state that the words he quoted are its beginning. All that he said was, "They (the priests of the fire-temple) brought forth some writings which they alleged were the Avesta, the book brought to them by Zoroaster"<sup>(1)</sup>. But Abu 'l-Ma'ālī's statement that the Zand and the Pazand were, as well as the Avesta, composed by Zoroaster, is not without precedent. Mas'ūdī who wrote in 332 A.H., (earlier than Maqdisī), said that Zoroaster wrote the Avesta in a language the like of which the people could neither produce nor comprehend. He wrote a commentary on this book when the people failed to understand it. This commentary was called the Zand. Then he wrote a commentary on the Zand called the Pazand<sup>(2)</sup>.

Maqdisī's statement that the Avesta, referred to by him was the book brought by Zoroaster has proved, according to modern research, to be unacceptable. The original writings of Zoroaster suffered destruction through the invasion of Alexander the Great. This fact, which is asserted by Pahlavi writers<sup>(3)</sup>, was known to the Arab historians.

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(1) Maqdisī, vol I, p.62.

(2) Murūj adh-dhahab, vol II, p.125,26,67.

(3) Ency.of Rel.& Ethics, vol II,p.267,London & New York,1909.

Ṭabarī and Mas'ūdī state that Zoroaster's book was written in 12,000<sup>(1)</sup> cowhides and that a part of this book was burnt by Alexander<sup>(2)</sup>. According to modern research, the collection of the scattered texts was begun under the last of the Arsacids and completed in the early Sasanian period<sup>(3)</sup>. About the Avesta which we now have, Williams Jackson says, "The present form of the Avesta dates from the Sasanian period, but the various portions differ considerably from one another in age. The relative age of the component parts can be approximately determined by a study of their metre, grammar and style"<sup>(4)</sup>. Which part of the present Avesta was written by Zoroaster himself is a matter which is not known with certainty. In this respect the same author states, "The determination of the actual date of the composition of the different parts of the Avesta is largely a matter of speculation. According to the generally accepted view, the Gathas, the oldest part in substance as well as in form, date back to an early period of the religion, if not to the prophet Zoroaster himself, whereas certain minor portions of the scriptures may have been written or compiled as late as Shahpuhr II of the Sasanian dynasty."<sup>(5)</sup>

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(1) Ṭabarī, I, 675; Mas'ūdī: Murūj, vol.II, p.125.

(2) Ibid.

(3) M.N. Dhalla: History of Zoroastrianism, p.4. New York, 1938.

(4) Ency. of Rel. & Ethics, vol II, p.270. 1909.

(5) Ibid, p.270.



Concerning the Zand, Dhalla says, "During the chaos that prevailed in Iran after the downfall of the Achaemenian empire, the Avestan language began to decay. When it grew unintelligible to the people, the learned priests undertook translations and explanations of the Avestan texts into Pahlavi, the new language which originated during the period. These commentaries on the original Avestan texts are called (*āzainti*) in Avesta, and (*zand*) in Pahlavi. The explanatory texts now came to be known as (*Avastak-u Zand*) or the Avesta and the commentaries."<sup>(1)</sup>

About the Pazand he states, "With the invention of the modern Persian alphabet, Pahlavi fell into the background..... A further need was felt to make explanatory versions of the Pahlavi texts themselves. This further explanation and added commentary is called Pazand from the Avestan word (*paiti zainti*). Short benedictory prayers are composed in Pazand as supplementary prayers to the original Avestan prayers. The Pazand texts are written in Avestan script."<sup>(2)</sup>

(p.8, 1.21)      فی گمانہ ہی رستخیز ....

The Pahlavi sentences which appear in Abu 'l-Ma'ālī's book are somewhat differently transcribed from those in Maqdisī. But they contain nearly all the same words and the explanations given to them in both books correspond.

(1) History of Zoroastranism, p.4,5.

(2) Ibid, p.5.

Christensen<sup>(1)</sup> and Huart<sup>(2)</sup> wrote notes on these words.

(p.9, l. 1-4) In the Pahlavi, , , , . . . created.

This statement corresponds with one in Maqdisī which reads as follows:-

"The Persians (call God) in the Pahlavi language Khudāy, Khudāvand and Khudāyagān. I heard more than one saying in explanation of it, (the name of God), 'khūd-ast and khūd būd' which means that he is self-existent. No one made Him, neither is He created."<sup>(3)</sup>

(p.9, l. 10) Abu 'l-Hasan (Amī أبو الحسن عامي

I could not find this name in any of the biographical or bibliographical dictionaries I consulted. Faced with the same difficulty, Schefer suggested that this name should be read Abu 'l-Ḥasan Ṣābī (أبو الحسن صابى)<sup>(4)</sup>. Thus, according to Schefer, the man quoted here is the famous Abu 'l-Ḥasan Thābit b. Qurrah aṣ-Ṣābī al-Ḥarrānī (221-288 A.H.). On the other hand, the book of "Abad 'alā 'l-abad" does not figure among the works of the latter mentioned by his biographers.

Iqbāl suggests that it should be read Abu 'l-Ḥasan (Amirī أبو الحسن عامري)<sup>(5)</sup>. In view of the resemblance

(1) Le Monde Oriental, vol.V, p.211, 1911. ~~Paris, 1926.~~

(2) Maqdisī, vol I, p.57 (of the French text), note 1,2.

(3) Maqdisī, vol I, 63, l.3-6.

(4) C. Schefer: Chrestomathie Persane, vol.I, p.140 (of the French text), note on "p.137, l.3." Paris, 1888.

(5) Abbās Iqbāl, ed., Bayān al-adyān, p.51,2, note on p.6. Teheran, 1934.



between 'Āmī and 'Āmirī in the Arabic script and the fact that a book called "Amad 'alā 'l-abad" has been attributed to this man by more than one authority<sup>(1)</sup>, this reading is possible.

Al-'Āmirī's full name is Abu 'l-Ḥasan Muḥammad b. Yūsuf al-'Āmirī. He was contemporary with Abū Ḥayyān at-Tawḥīdī. The latter said about al-'Āmirī that he was one of the eminent men of his time<sup>(2)</sup>. From him we know that 'Āmirī, who had already become a learned man, passed five years at Rayy<sup>(3)</sup>. At-Tawḥīdī mentioned two other books by al-'Āmirī one of which was called "an-Nusk al-'aqlī"<sup>(4)</sup> and the other was a book dealing with sūfism<sup>(5)</sup>. The several quotations from al-'Āmirī in the books of the at-Tawḥīdī show us his inclination towards philosophical questions. Later, Shahrastānī mentioned him as one of the Muslim philosophers<sup>(6)</sup>. Yāqūt calls him "Ṣāḥib ul-falāsifah", (the man associated with philosophers), and gives the date of his death as 381 A.H.<sup>(7)</sup> Shahrāzūrī gives more biographical details, saying that 'Āmirī was one of the great philosophers of Khurāsān, that he was attached to the service of the Sāmānīs, the rulers of this territory

- (1) Shahrāzūrī: Kanz ul-Ḥikmah, pt.II, p.125; Ḥājī Khalīfah: Kashf az-ẓunūn, vol.I, p.168. Istanbul, 1941.  
 (2) Al-Muqābasāt, p.165, Cairo, 1929.  
 (3) Ibid, p.60.  
 (4) Ibid, p.301.  
 (5) Al-Imtā' wa'l-mu'ānasah, vol III, p.94, Cairo, 1939-44.  
 (6) Milal, p. 348.  
 (7) Yāqūt: Mu'jam ul-udabā', Margoliouth ed., vol.I, p.411, London, 1907-26.

in his time, and that he travelled to Bagdād but did not like to stay there because of the bad character of its people and so he returned to his native land Khurāsān. Concerning his literary works, he said that (ʿAmirī wrote commentaries on the books of Aristotle and that he had correspondence on philosophical questions with Ibn Sīnā (375-428 A.H.) with whom he was contemporary<sup>(1)</sup>. This last statement is in clear contradiction to the date of his death as given by Yāqūt<sup>(2)</sup>.

(p.9, 1.12-14). Galen was not described as....Goodness.

This statement about Galen does not appear in other Arabic and Persian authorities which I have consulted. Citations from Galen by Muslim writers are mostly on medical or physical problems. Muḥammad b. Zakariyyā ar-Rāzī (d. about 320 A.H.), the Muslim physician and philosopher, attributes to him some opinions<sup>(3)</sup> which represent him as a naturalist philosopher<sup>(4)</sup>. The biography of Galen, according to oriental writers, is to be found in : Qiftī: Tārīkh ul-ḥukamā', p.122-132. Leipzig, 1903; Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah: Ṭabaqāt ul-aṭibbā', vol I, p.71-103. Cairo, 1882; Shahrāzūrī: Kanz ul-ḥikmah, pt.I, p.221-227. Tehran, 1937.

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(1) Shahrāzūrī: Kanz ul-ḥikmah, pt.II, p.125. Tehran, 1937.

(2) See above.

(3) Abi Bakr Moḥammadi Filḥ Zachariae Raghensis (Razis) Opera Philosophica. Collected by P.Kraus. p.120, 26, 27. Cairo, 1939.

(4) One who holds view of the world that excludes the supernatural or spiritual.



(p.9, 1.19). Abu 'l-Khayr Khammār.

Abu 'l-Khayr al-Ḥasan b. Siwār b. Bahrām (or Behnām according to some authorities<sup>(1)</sup>) al-Khammār was born in Bagdad in 331 A.H. He was contemporary with Ibn un-Nadīm and Abu Ḥayyān at-Tawḥīdī. The former described him as one of the celebrated logicians of his time and spoke in high terms about his abilities<sup>(2)</sup>. The latter mentioned and quoted him in different places in his books<sup>(3)</sup>.

When Khammār became known, he joined the service of Ma'mūn b. Muḥammad Khawārizmshāh and remained in Khawārizm till 408 A.H., when this city was captured by Maḥmūd of Ghaznah. Maḥmūd took him, with the other learned men who were assembled at the court of Khawārizm, to his capital. At this time Khammār was old. His biographers agree that till then he was a Christian and that, later, he became a Muslim. The date of his death is not known. Some authorities state that he was killed in an accident in the lifetime of Sultan Maḥmūd<sup>(4)</sup>. This indicates that he died sometime between 408 A.H. (the date of the conquest of Khawārizm), and 421 A.H. (the date of Maḥmūd's death).

(1) Ibn Abī Uṣaybi' (ah: Ṭabaqāt ul-aṭibbā', vol.I, p.322. Cairo, 1882; and others.

(2) Fihrist, vol.I, p.265. Leipsig, 1871.

(3) Al-Muqābasāt, p.160,205. Cairo, 1929; al-Imtā' wa 'l-mu'ānasah, vol.I, p.32,33,35; vol.II, p.14,38,83. Cairo, 1939-44.

(4) 'Alī b. Zayd al-Bayhaqī: Tatimat siwān ul-ḥikmah, fasc.I. (Arabic text), p.13. Lahore, 1935.

Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah relates, after a certain author of a book on medicine, that Khammār was alive in the year 430 A.H.<sup>(1)</sup> Shahrazūrī gives a much later date by saying that he died during the rule of Sultan Ibrāhīm of Ghaznah<sup>(2)</sup> (451-492 A.H.) but this can be ruled out.

Ibn un-Nadīm gave a list of Khammār's works<sup>(3)</sup> and, later, Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah gave another list<sup>(4)</sup>, including more books than those mentioned by Ibn un-Nadīm. These books include original writings, commentaries on some works, and translations from Syriac. If we judge his books, none of which seem to have survived, by their titles, we find that they dealt with logic, philosophy, physics and medicine. Which of these books is the one referred to by our author, is a question that cannot be answered at present.

(p.9, 1.20)

استيكن

Among the works of Plato which are known to us now there is no book called Istitkin استيكن. I could not find a book of such a name in any other Arabic or Persian authority. Khammār, who is stated by our author to have

(1) Tabaqāt ul-aṭibbā', vol.I, p.322.

(2) Kanz ul-ḥikmah, pt.II, p.34. Tehran, 1937.

(3) al-Fihrist, vol.II, p.265.

(4) Tabaqāt ul-aṭibbā', vol.I, p.323.



used this book, was contemporary with Ibn un-Nadīm, the bibliographer. The latter, who gave a list of the works of Plato<sup>(1)</sup>, did not mention this book among them. Massé suggests it to be a mistranscription of the Greek word "Aisthêtikos"<sup>(2)</sup>.

(p.10, l.13) I read a copy of this letter.....

The two letters which are alleged to have been written by Aristotle to Alexander are not to be found in the published text of the history of Maqdisī, entitled "al-Bad' wa t-Tārīkh" and quoted before by Abu 'l-Ma'ālī. In any case, they display the nature of the statements about Aristotle and Alexander in the fabulous history of the latter, versions of which exist in many languages. About this history Wallis Budge states, "The first fabulous history of the life and travels and exploits of Alexander was, I believe, composed and written in Egypt soon after his death by an Egyptian, or by one whose interests were wholly Egyptian; if it was written by a Greek he made use of materials which had been invented by the Egyptians".<sup>(3)</sup>

According to one of the Ethiopic versions of this fabulous history Aristotle sent Alexander a letter, extracts

(1) al-Fihrist, p.249. Leipzig, 1871.

(2) H. Massé: L'exposé des religions, p.24, note 3. Paris, 1926.

(3) E.A.Wallis Budge: The life and exploits of Alexander the Great. (Being a series of Ethiopic texts ed. & trans.) Vol I, Introd., p.ix. London, 1896.

from which read as follows: "In the name of God, the Merciful, the Glorious. From Aristotle the sage, to the king, the two-horned. Behold, news has reached me concerning that which hath happened unto thee, and how God Almighty hath given thee (His) help and victory over thine enemies, and how he hath opened, by thy hand, a way through cities and countries; now all these things hath taken place through help of the Glorious God and through His power.....Offer thanksgiving unto Him, and perform God's will, and cry out to Him, and seek mercy from Him, for His grace is upon thee; moreover, (thy) days in this world are fleeting and thou must leave it unto others. O haste thee to do what is pleasing (unto Him) before (thou) diest, and set this in thy hand day and night, and be thou not slow (to perform it); for He will never leave thee, and He will be with thee at all times."<sup>(1)</sup> An abridgement of this letter is given in two places in an Arabic version of the story of Alexander<sup>(2)</sup>. Other religious statements attributed to Aristotle read as follows: "The heavens declare the work of the Creator, Who made everything, Who killeth, and Who maketh alive, Who promoteth (man) to honour and Who bringeth him down into the dust, in Whose hand is everything and from Whom are all things."<sup>(3)</sup>

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(1) Ibid, vol.II, p.215.

(2) García-Gómez: Un Texto Árabe Occidental de la Leyenda de Alejandro, p.49,56. Madrid, 1929.

(3) The life and exploits of Alexander, II, 39.



Aristotle is declared to have been a Christian<sup>(1)</sup>. This reveals to us the religion of the inventor of such statements. Even Alexander is made to speak in this religious tone all through his fabulous history<sup>(2)</sup>. A part of his epistle to the officers of his kingdom reads as follows: "O fear ye God Almighty, my God and your God, for it is He Who hath created you, it is He Who feedeth you, it is He Who keepeth you alone, it is He Who maketh you to die, it is He Who maketh you rich, it is He Who maketh you poor, it is He Who helpeth you, it is He Who shall make you rise up from your graves, and it is He Who will reward every man according to his work<sup>(3)</sup>."

(p.11, 1.17-22) The Byzantines, the Copts.....

This corresponds with a statement in Maqdisī. Its translation is as follows:

"The Byzantines, the Copts, the Abyssinians, and the people of the neighbouring countries (call God) 'Lāhā, Rabbā and Qaddūsa' in Syriac because most of them are Christians.

There is no difference between the Syriac and Arabic languages except in a few letters and it seems that each of them was derived from the other<sup>(4)</sup>."

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(1) Ibid.

(2) See examples in Ibid, p.47-58.

(3) Ibid, p.47,8.

(4) Maqdisī: al-Bad' wa't-Tārīkh, vol.I, p.63, 1.13-16.

(p. 11, 1.22 - p.12, 1.2) But in the Hebrew language....

This corresponds to a statement in Maqdisī. Its translation is as follows:

"The Jews (call God) in Hebrew 'Īlūhīm', 'Adunāy' and 'Ehyā Esher Ehyā'. 'Īlūhīm' means God. The beginning of the Tawrāt (The Torah) is 'Berēshit bārā Īlūhīm..' which means, 'The first thing which God created...'.<sup>(1)</sup>

(p.12, 1. 7-11). The Turks....

This resembles a statement in Maqdisī. Its translation is as follows:

"The Turks call God 'Bir Tāngri' which means 'God is one'. Some of them alleged that 'Tāngri' is the name of the blueness of the sky. If what they have mentioned is true, (this implies) that they (the Turks) believed in the meaning required concerning divinity, although they had doubts about the attribute. Others said that 'Tāngri' is the sky and that the name of God in their language is 'Ulugh bāyāt' which means 'the greatest of all great'.<sup>(2)</sup>

(p. 12, 1, 13). Maqdisī says....

The translation of the statement of Maqdisī, quoted here by our author, is as follows:

"The people of India and the Sind (call God) 'Chītā', 'Vābit'

(1) Ibid, p.63, 1.17-p.64, 1.2.

(2) Ibid, p.63, 1.8-13.



and 'Mahādēv'. They describe Him by the deeds most peculiar to Him."<sup>(1)</sup>

(p.21, l.14). Abū Rayḥān.

Abū Rayḥān, the astronomer, mentioned here, is the celebrated Abū 'r-Rayḥān Muḥammad b. Aḥmad ul-Bīrūnī, who was born in 362 A.H. (= 973, 4, A.D.) and died in 440 A.H. (= 1048 A.D.). The book meant here is his well-known Indica entitled "Taḥqīq mā li 'l-hind min maqūlah.....", edited and translated by Edward Sachau, London, 1887,88. It is described by its editor and translator, as "an account of the religion, philosophy, literature, geography, chronology, astronomy, customs, law and astrology of India about A.D. 1030."

Concerning al-Bīrūnī's Patañjali, Sachau states, "Al-Bīrūnī's Patañjali, is totally different from the 'Yoga Aphorisms of Patañjali, (with the commentary of Bhoja Rājā, and an English translation by Rajendrālālā Mitra, Calcutta, 1883)', and as far as I may judge the philosophic system of the former differs in many points essentially from that of the Sūtras. Moreover, the extracts given in the Indica stand in no relation with the commentary of Bhoja Rājā, although the commentator here and there mentions ideas which in a like or similar form occur in al-Bīrūnī's work,

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(1) Maqdisī, vol.I, p.63, l. 6-7. See also: The Dabistan, trans. by Shea and Troyer, vol. II, p.217.

both works being intended to explain the principles of the same school of philosophy."<sup>(1)</sup>

Since then, the Yoga Sūtras with other commentaries were published in a work entitled, "The Yoga System of Patañjali (embracing mnemonic rules called Yoga Sūtras of Patañjali and the comment, called Yoga-Bhāshya attributed to Veda-Vyasa and the explanation, called Tattva-Vāicārādī, of Vāchaspati-Micra), translated by J.H. Woods from Sanskrit, Harvard, 1914." It did not bring us nearer to knowing the Patañjali used by al-Bīrūnī. Neither the Sūtras nor the comment, nor the explanation contain any passage which can be found identical with one in al-Bīrūnī's Patañjali.

(p.13, l. 1-p.14, l.2) Question.....

This theological discussion is an abridged translation of the one quoted from Patañjali by al-Bīrūnī in his Indica.<sup>(2)</sup>

(p.13, l.17).

Ibrāhīm

Ibrāhīm here is mentioned in place of Brahman. It is a mistake either by the author or by the scribe of the book who, not knowing *إبراهيم*, might have thought it a wrong spelling of *ابراهيم*. Al-Bīrūnī says, "It was he who spoke to Brahman and to others of the first beings in different ways." <sup>(3)</sup>

(1) Al-Bīrūnī's India, vol II trans., p.264.

(2) Al-Bīrūnī's India, p.13, l. 14 - p.14, l. 9; vol.I of the trans., p. 27, l.20 - p.29, l.20.

(3) Ibid, vol.I of the trans., p.28.



(p. 13, 1.18). If what the worshipped God.....

The idea here concerning God's knowledge resembles that in (the Yoga-System of Patañjali, translated by J.H. Woods, Harvard, 1914, p.59), which reads as follows:  
 "The same (Iṣvara is) - Teacher of the Primal (Sages) also, forasmuch as (with him) there is no limitation by time; (but) He to whom time does not apply, in so far as it might be a limiting object, is the teacher even of the Primal Sages."

(p.14, 1.4-5)

Gītā, Bhārata, Vāsudeva, Arjuna and Sāṃkhya were not all stated by al-Bīrūnī to have been Indian theological books on the unity of God. According to him, Gītā forms part of the book of Bhārata. Vāsudeva and Arjuna are the names of two speakers in the book Gītā. Al-Bīrūnī's words read as follows, " The following passage is taken from the book Gītā a part of the book Bhārata, from the conversation between Vāsudeva and Arjuna."<sup>(1)</sup> Sāṃkhya is an Indian book on theology. Al-Bīrūnī says, "In the book Sāṃkhya the devotee speaks, 'Has there been a difference of opinion about action and the agent or not?' "<sup>(2)</sup> Al-Bīrūnī's Gītā

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(1) Al-Bīrūnī's India, p.14, 1. 10; trans. vol.I, p.29.

(2) Al-Bīrūnī's India, p.14, 1.20; trans.vol I, p.30.

and Saṃkhya have been dealt with by Sachau in his notes on al-Bīrūnī's India<sup>(1)</sup>.

(p. 14, l. 8.) Iḡvara

Iḡvara, according to al-Bīrūnī, is the name by which the educated people of India called God. According to the same author iḡvara means "self-sufficing, beneficent, who gives without receiving".<sup>(2)</sup>

(p. 14, l. 13) they (the Negroes) understand.....

Negroes (the Zinj) are usually described by Muslim writers as fond of pleasure and enjoyment. They relate various sayings after Galen which state this as one of the characteristics of Negroes<sup>(3)</sup>.

(p. 14, l. 15)

ملکوی جلوی

The name of God in the language of the Zinj is given in Maqdisī as, "Malkawī Jalawī?" (ملکوی جلوی). Its meaning is given as "The greatest lord"<sup>(4)</sup>. According to Mas'ūdī, it is ملکبجر<sup>(5)</sup> and the meaning given to it is the same as that mentioned in Maqdisī. Hamadhānī mentions it as ملکوجلور<sup>(6)</sup> but gives no explanation.

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- (1) Al-Bīrūnī's India, trans., vol. II, p. 264-68. (notes on p. 29, 30)  
 (2) Al-Bīrūnī's India, p. 15, l. 7-8; trans. vol. I, p. 31.  
 (3) Mas'ūdī: Murūj, vol I, p. 163, 64, Paris, 1861; Hamadhānī: Mukhtaṣar tārikh ul-buldān, p. 330, Leiden, 1885.  
 (4) al-Bad' wa t-tārikh, vol. I, p. 63.  
 (5) Murūj, vol. III, p. 30, Paris, 1917.  
 (6) Mukhtaṣar tārikh ul-buldān, p. 78.



(p.14, 1.21) This is the greatest proof.....

In his chapter "on proving the existence of God and the unity of the Creator", Maqdisī used, as one of his proofs, the fact that there is a name or names for God in every language<sup>(1)</sup>. In al-Bīrūnī's India, the same idea is expressed in the theological conversation quoted from Patañjali. The following are the actual words of Patañjali, according to al-Bīrūnī, "His (God's) name proves His existence, for where there is a report there must be something to which it refers, and where there is a name there must be something which is named." (2)

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(1) al-Bad' wa t-tārīkh, vol.I, p.60.

(2) Al-Bīrūnī's India, tr., vol.I, p.29.

CHAPTER II.

(p.15,1.6) Abū 'Īsā Warrāq

References to this man are to be found in many books but very little information about him can be gained from them. His name was Muḥammad b. Hārūn and he was known by the name of Abū 'Īsā'l-Warrāq.<sup>(1)</sup> We know nothing about the date of his birth, but as regards his death Mas'ūdī states that he died in Baghdād in 247 A.H.<sup>(2)</sup> It is related after Jubbā'ī that Warrāq died in prison.<sup>(3)</sup> He is attacked by non-Shī'ī writers and praised by the Shī'īs. I will trace him first in the books of the non-Shī'ī writers.

Ash'arī mentioned him twice. In one place, he related after him some of the sayings of a group of the Shī'ah,<sup>(4)</sup> and, in the other, he stated that Warrāq belonged to the Hishāmīs, (a group of the Shī'ah named after Hishām b. ul-Hakam), and that he was the author of some of their books on the "imamah".<sup>(5)</sup> Baghdādī quoted from him some information

(1) Shahrastānī, Milal, p.188.

(2) Murūj, vol,VII, p.236.

(3) Ma'āhid at-Tanṣīṣ, p.77. Būlāq, 1274. Quoted in: Khayyāt: al-Intiṣār. Ed's. Int. p.39.

(4) Maqālāt, vol.I, p.34. Istanbul, 1929.

(5) Ibid, p.64.



about some groups of the Shī'ah.<sup>(1)</sup> Ibn un-Nadīm mentioned him among the "Mutakallimūn", who pretended to be Muslims although they were Zindīqs at heart.<sup>(2)</sup> Khayyāt described him as having been the teacher of Ibn ur-Rāwandī and that he transferred the latter from being a Mu'tazilī to unbelief.<sup>(3)</sup> According to the same author, Warrāq was expelled from the sect of the Mu'tazilīs when he believed in Manicheanism, backed the Dualist doctrine and wrote books in support of it.<sup>(4)</sup> In other places he states that in spite of Warrāq's belief in the Dualist doctrine, he pretended to be a Shī'ī and had some inclination towards the followers of the latter doctrine.<sup>(5)</sup> Shahrastānī, in his account of Mānī and Mazdak, quoted Warrāq.<sup>(6)</sup> He introduces the quotation from him, concerning Mānī, by the following statement: "Muḥammad b. Hārūn known as Abu'Isā'il-Warrāq, who was originally a Magian, and thus was well informed on the doctrines of the Magiāns, related that

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(1) Al-Farq, p.49,51, Cairo, 1910.

(2) Fihrist, p.338, Leiden, 1871.

(3) Intiṣār, p.98,155. Cairo, 1925.

(4) Ibid, p.149.

(5) Ibid, p.150,52.

(6) Milal, p.188,92,93.

Mānī<sup>(1)</sup>.....". In another part of his book, he relates after Warrāq, some of the opinions of Mazdak.<sup>(2)</sup>

On the other hand Warrāq was praised by Shī'ī writers. Mas'ūdī said about him that he wrote many good books, of which were his books on the "maqālāt (religious doctrines), on the Imāmate, and on other subjects.<sup>(3)</sup> Hā'irī, the author of a dictionary of Shī'ī traditionists, relates many sayings of early Shī'īs about him which present him as one held in high esteem by them.<sup>(4)</sup> The books written by Warrāq were, "al-maqālāt", "al-imāmah" mentioned above, "al-majālis",<sup>(5)</sup> "as-saqīfah", "al-ḥukm alā sūrat lam yakun" and "ikhtilāf ash-shī'ah".<sup>(6)</sup>

In a short note on him, Massignon mentions a book by Warrāq on the refutation of the three Christian sects of his time. This book is a Ms. in the Bib. Nat. and is described by Massignon as being a book of great accuracy.<sup>(7)</sup>

From the information given to us about him by the different authors mentioned above, it can be known that he was a Shī'ī or that he had a strong inclination towards Shī'ism, as this has been stated by many of them and denied

(1) Ibid, p.188.

(2) Ibid, p.192,3.

(3) Muruj, vol.VII, p.236,7.

(4) Muntahā'l-maqāl, p.296.

(5) Muruj, Vol.VII, p.236,37.

(6) See: Astrābādī, Manhaj ul-maqāl, p.329, Persia, 1889,90;  
Hā'irī : Muntahā'l-maqāl, p.296.

(7) E.I., art. Warrāk.



by none. The accusation directed against him of believing in the Dualist Doctrine might have arisen from a good presentation of this doctrine in some of his writings. Furthermore, we find some statements, attributed to Warrāq and related by at-Tawhīdī, which must have been unacceptable to the Muslims of his time. In one of them he states, "The one who gives an order to someone who will not carry it out is foolish. God knew about the unbelievers that they would not believe, and so there is no wisdom in ordering them to do so".<sup>(1)</sup> In another statement he says, "The punisher who neither tries to improve the punished person by his punishment, nor tries to improve another person (indirectly) by it, nor appeases his anger by punishing, is a tyrant, because he does not use punishment in its proper place. As God does not try to improve the people of Hell by punishing them, nor does he try to improve others nor attempts to appease his anger by doing so, then, there is no wise cause behind punishment".<sup>(2)</sup> His book quoted here is probably al-Maqālāt, as pointed out by Iqbāl.<sup>(3)</sup>

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(1) at-Tawhīdī : al-imtā' wa'l-mu'ānasah, vol.III, p.192, Cairo, 1944.

(2) Ibid,

(3) Bayān ul-adyān, p.54. Tehran, 1934.

(p.15,1.10)

Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā, (of the tribe of Muzaynah or Ghatafān),<sup>(1)</sup> a pre-Islamic poet and the author of one of the celebrated seven Mu'allaqāt. He probably died before Islam, while his two sons, Bujayr and Ka'b, who were contemporaries of the Prophet, became Muslims.<sup>(2)</sup> The couplet quoted here by Abu'l-Ma'ālī is from Zuhayr's Mu'allaqah.<sup>(3)</sup> It has been taken by other writers to indicate Zuhayr's belief in the resurrection.<sup>(4)</sup> It is preceded by a couplet which reads as follows, "Do not conceal from God what is in your breast, that it may be hidden; whatever is concealed God knows all about it".<sup>(5)</sup> The last part of the Mu'allaqah of Zuhayr contains some verses of moral and ethical value from the beduin's point of view, in which the poet, being 80 years old, registered some of his experience.<sup>(6)</sup> Besides his belief in the resurrection, we have no information about his religion. His poetical works have no religious character, but at the same time, they display no sign of idolatry. When he swears, he swears by "Allah".<sup>(7)</sup>

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(1) Ibn Qutaybah: ash-shi'r wa sh-shu'arā', p.57,59.

(2) Ibid: p.59,60.

(3) See: The seven poems, trans. by Johnson, p.76, verse 28. Bombay, 1893.

(4) Ibn Qutaybah: ash-shi'r., p.58; Shahrastānī, Milal, p.439.

(5) Johnson, The seven poems, p.76, verse 27.

(6) Ibid, p.83...from verse 47 till the end of the Mu'allaqah.

(7) See examples in: Diwān Zuhayr b. Abī Sulmā, p.162,182,282,

(8) 287. Cairo, 1944.



(p.15,1.14) Some of them worshipped idols and recognised no creator other than these:

It is to be noted that none of the pre-Islamic Arabs is stated to have attributed the creation of the world to an idol. On the contrary, it is stated in the Qur'an that the pagan Arabs considered idols as a means of approach to God. "We only serve them in order to bring us nearer to God". This fact is also mentioned in traditions. Quraysh, when walking round the Ka'bah, in performing their pilgrimage used to say, "(We swear) by the Lāt and the 'Uzzā, and the third goddess Manāt, who are the most high "gharānīq",<sup>(1)</sup> and whose intercession (with God) is to be hoped". In explanation of this Ibn ul-Kalbī states that Quraysh said that these idols were the daughters of God and would be intercessors with Him.<sup>(2)</sup> Aws b. Hajar, in one of his complets, says, "I swear by the Lāt and the 'Uzzā and those who believe in them; nay, I swear by God who is greater than they."<sup>(3)</sup> Nizār used to say when walking round the Ka'bah, in performance of their pilgrimage,

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(1) Gharānīq: "as though it means cranes, for the Numidian crane is remarkable in the east for its superlatively high flight". Lane's lexicon.

(2) Asnam, p.19.

(3) Ibid, p.17.

"Here we are at Thy service, our Lord! Thou Who hast no partner, except one whom Thou ownst but who owns nothing".

About this Ibn ul-Kalbī remarks that they used to state God's unity when calling on Him, although they mentioned besides Him their gods which they declared to be possessed by Him.<sup>(1)</sup>

(p.16, l.3-10) Suwā' belonged.....

Our author's account of the idols of the Arabs is nearly identical with that of Khuwārizmī in his book *Mafātih ul-Ulūm*.<sup>(2)</sup> The only difference between the two is that the former states that Yaghūth was worshipped by Hamdān and that Ya'ūq was worshipped by Madhhiḥ and Yaman, while the latter states the contrary. All other authorities are in favour of Khuwārizmī's statement.<sup>(3)</sup> The idols mentioned in Shāhrastānī are the same as those mentioned in these two books, but few more details are written about them in Shāhrastānī. There is no contradiction between the information given in these books and the earliest book, in our hands, on Arab idolatry - the *Kitāb ul-Aṣṇām* of Ibn ul-Kalbī (p. 204 or 206). As Abu'l-Ma'ālī said, there was a great number of idols besides those which he had

(1) Ibid, p.7.

(2) P.31. Leiden, 1895.

(3) See: Ibn ul-Kalbī: *al-Aṣṇām*, p.10, 57, Cairo, 1924; Shāhrastānī: *Milal*, p.434.



mentioned.

Examples of these are al-Uqaysir which was worshipped by Qudā'ah, Lakhm, Judham, 'Amilah and Ghaṭafān; (1) Bājar worshipped by the Azd and their neighbours from Tayyi' and Qudā'ah; (2) Dhu l'-Khalasah whose keepers were the Banū Umamah from Bāhilah and which was worshipped by Khath'am, Bajīlah, Azd as-Sarāh and their neighbours from Hawāzin; (3) Su'ayr, worshipped by 'Anazah; (4) Dhu'sh-Sharā, worshipped by the Banū l-Hārith b. Yashkur from the Azd; (5) 'Ā'im worshipped by Azd as-Sarāh; (6) 'Umyānis worshipped by Khawlān; (7) al-Fals worshipped by Tayyi'; (8) Dhu'l-Kaffayn, worshipped by Daws; (9) Manāf, (10) Nuhm, worshipped by Muzaynah; (11) and al-Ya'būb worshipped by Jadīlah a section of Tayyi'. (12)

(1) Ibn ul-Kalbī; al-Aṣnām, p.38.

(2) Ibid, p.63.

(3) Ibid, p.34,35.

(4) Ibid, p.41.

(5) Ibid, p.37.

(6) Ibid, p.40.

(7) Ibid, p.43.

(8) Ibid, p.59.

(9) Ibid, p.37.

(10) Ibid, p.32.

(11) Ibid, p.39.

(12) Ibid, p.63.

The above mentioned idols, added to those mentioned by Abu'l-Ma'ālī, comprise all the idols mentioned in Ibn ul-Kalbī's book. A long list of idols, not included in this book, was attached to it by its editor, Zakī Pashā.<sup>(1)</sup> Still, names of other deities can be known to us, as Nöldeke pointed out, through so-called 'theophorus' proper names, that is names which describe the bearer as 'servant', 'gift', 'favour', of this or that deity.<sup>(2)</sup> As Ibn ul-Kalbī (d. 204 or 206 A.H.) was not able to state definitely whether such names indicated certain deities or not,<sup>(3)</sup> we must assume that deities bearing such names must have ceased to be worshipped long before Islam. Apart from idols worshipped by one or a number of tribes, the Arabs seemed to have had special idols at their homes. Ibn ul-Kalbī states, "Each household in Mecca had an idol which they worshipped at their home. If anyone of them intended to travel the last thing he usually did at his house was to seek the idol's blessing by touching it, and, this was the first thing he did when he came back home".<sup>(4)</sup>

It is reported also that they had sacred houses besides the Ka'bah in Mecca. The Banū'l-Hārith b. Ka'b had a Ka'bah

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(1) Ibid, p.107-11.

(2) Ency. R.&E., vol,I, p.659.

(3) Asnām, p.30.

(4) Asnām, p.33.



in Najrān.<sup>(1)</sup> Iyād had a Ka'bah in Sindād.<sup>(2)</sup> Rudā<sup>(3)</sup> and Ri'ām<sup>(4)</sup> are also names of sacred houses.

Nöldeke, in his study of Arab Gods and Goddesses,<sup>(5)</sup> classified them in different categories in the following way:-

- (a) Heavenly bodies and other powers of nature.
- (b) Abstract deities.
- (c) Deities bearing names of animals.
- (d) Deities named after places.
- (e) Deities named after the limbs of the body.
- (f) Ancestral and tribal deities.
- (g) Other deities of the time of Noah.
- (h) Hubal.
- (i) Lord and God.

To the first class belong 'Uzzā and Allāt identified by him as the Planet Saturn and the Sun-God,<sup>(6)</sup> respectively. To the second class belong Manāt, Sa'd, Wadd, Manāf and Rudā. To the third belong Nasr 'the vulture' and 'Auf 'the great bird (of pray)'. To the fourth belong Dhu l-Khalasah and

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(1) Ibid, p.44.

(2) Ibid, p.45. Sindād, was a place between Kūfah and Basrah.

(3) Ibid, p.30.

(4) Ibid, p.11.

(5) Enc. R. & E., article: Arabs (ancient)

(6) Ibid, 660,61.

and Dhu sh-Sharā. To the fifth belong Dhu'l-Kaffayn, 'He who has two hands' and Dhu'r-Rijl 'He who has a foot'. To the sixth belong deities designated by titles fashioned after the manner 'God of Abraham'. To the seventh belong Yaghūth, Ya'ūq and Suwā'.

(p.16, l.15) Madhhab-i Ta'tīl:

Ta'tīl is explained in the Encyclopaedia of Islam as denying the attributes of God. This is one of the meanings of this word which is also used in the sense of denying God altogether and the day of resurrection. Our author uses it here as synonymous with the word "dahri". The Dahri's, to quote Goldzieher, are "those people who, not content with repudiating the belief in one God, the creation of the world by Him and His Providence, and denying the postulates of any positive religion (divine laws, a future life, retribution), teach the eternity of time and of matter and ascribe all that happens in the world merely to the operation of natural laws (or the movement of spheres)". (1)

The same explanation of Ta'tīl is given by Khuwārizmī who states, "The Mu'atīlah are those who deny Almighty God." (2)

(1) In view of the presence of the good article on the "Dahriyah" by Goldzieher, I will abstain from commenting on them here.

(2) Mafatih ul-'Ulūm, p.35.



Maqdisī says that the Mu<sup>(</sup>atṭilah were also called, "the Malāhidah", "the Dahriyyah", "the Zanādiqah" and "the Muhmilah". According to him, they believed in "the eternity of the tangible entities of this world and of bodies, the generation of plants and animals from the natural elements through the effect of the change of times, and their return to their origins. No Creator is acknowledged by them". (1)

Shahrastānī also mentions the Mu<sup>(</sup>atṭilah in two places of his book "al-Milal". In the first place he states that the Mu<sup>(</sup>atṭil is the one who does not believe in the supersensuous and denies the resurrection and, to whom, there is no other world than this tangible one. The Mu<sup>(</sup>atṭilah are none other than the Ṭabī<sup>(</sup>īyyūn and the Dahriyyūn. (2) In the second place, he deals with the Mu<sup>(</sup>atṭilah of the Arabs, about whom he states that they denied the Creator and the resurrection, and believed that nature gives life and that the course of time causes death. According to him, the Qur<sup>(</sup>anic verse which reads, "And they say, 'There is no other than our present life; we die and we live and nothing but the course of time destroyeth us'". (Qur'<sup>(</sup>an, XLV.23), refers to those people.

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(1) Maqdisī, vol.IV, p.2., Paris, 1907.

(2) Milal, p.201.

All the doctrines meant by the word "taṭīl" are also mentioned by Shahrastānī in his "Nihāyat ul-Iqdām", with an attempt to refute them.<sup>(1)</sup>

(p.17,1.1-3) Does the Prophet.....

This couplet is attributed by Ibn Ishāq to Shaddād b. ul-Aswad.<sup>(2)</sup> It is from an elegy upon the people who were killed in the battle of Badr by the Prophet and his followers.<sup>(3)</sup>

(p.17,1.4) Some of them worshipped angels:

The following are other Qur'ānic verses which are said to indicate the presence of the worship of angels among the pre-Islamic Arabs.<sup>(4)</sup>

"The Day He will gather them together as well as those whom they worship besides God, He will ask: 'Was it ye who led these My servants astray, or did they stray from the path themselves?'. They will say: "Glory to thee! Not meet was it for us that take for protectors others besides Thee! But Thou didst bestow on them and their fathers good things (in life), until they forgot the message: For they were a people (worthless and) lost." (XXV, 17 - 18).

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(1) P.123f.

(2) Sīrat ur-Rasūl, p.530.

(3) Ibid and Shahrastānī, Milal, p.433.

(4) See: Alūsī, Bulūgh ul-arab, vol.II., p.254.



"One day He will gather them all together, and say to the angels, 'Was it you that these men used to worship?'. They will say, 'Glory to Thee! Our (tie) is with Thee as protector - not with them. Nay but they worshipped the Jinn: Most of them believed in them'". (XXXV, 40-41).

The latter verse refers to the worship of Jinn by some of the Arabs. Ibn ul-Kalbī states that the Banū Mulayh, from the tribe Khuzā'ah, worshipped the Jinn and that the Qur'ānic verse which reads "Those whom ye worship in exclusion of God are only servants (of God) like thee", refers to them.<sup>(1)</sup> The following verse states that some men used to seek protection from the Jinn:

"True there were persons among mankind who took shelter with persons among the Jinn, but they increased them in folly". (LXXII,6).

Ibn Ishāq comments on this verse by saying, "The Arabian from Quraysh or any other (tribe), if he descended to the bottom of a valley to spend the night, when on travel, used to say, 'I seek the protection of the jinnī, who is the lord of this valley, from the evil in it'."

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(1) Asnām, p.34.

Another verse on the association between God and the Jinn, according to the Pre-Islamic Arabs reads as follows:

"And they made the Jinn partners of God, while He created them....." (VI, 101).

(P.17,1.12-16) O my son.....

According to Shahrastānī these two couplets were composed by (Amr b. Zayd al-Mutamannī. (1) Other verses of the same meaning are attributed to Juraybah b. ul-Ashyam al-Asadī. (2)

(p.17,1.19) Tubba<sup>(</sup> b. Kulaykarib:

According to Muslim historians, Tubba<sup>(</sup> b. Kulaykarib was one of the ancient kings of Yaman, who were called the Himyarīs, Ibn Qutaybah calls him Tubba<sup>(</sup> ul-Awsat (the middle), (3) while Ibn ul-Athīr calls him Tubba<sup>(</sup> ul-Aṣghar or al-Akhīr (the youngest or the last). (4) His story, as related by Muslim historians, is full of fictitious statements (5) which were subject to the doubts of Ibn ul-Athīr himself who, after relating a part of the story of Tubba<sup>(</sup>,

(1) Milal, p.440.

(2) Ibid, 439-40.

(3) Ibn Qutaybah: al-Ma<sup>(</sup>ārif, p.274. Cairo, 1934.

(4) Ibn ul-Athīr, I, 300, 1.10.

(5) See: Tabarī, vol.I, p.684,86,749,51,892,901-10; Ibn ul-Athīr, vol.I, p.194,300,301,306.



states, "It was mentioned like this, but many biographers and historians related it in a different way and each of them differed from the other. Some of them placed first the one whom the others placed last and so not much information is gained from them. But we mention here an abridgement of what we have found".<sup>(1)</sup> He criticises the whole story as it stands in another place of his book.<sup>(2)</sup> Concerning the alleged belief of Tubba' in Muhammad, Ibn Qutaybah states, "It is said that this Tubba' is the one who believed in the Prophet". He then attributes to him the two verses which are mentioned by our author and in which Tubba' is said to have expressed his belief in the Prophet.<sup>(3)</sup> According to the same author, this took place 700 years before the Prophet's mission.<sup>(4)</sup> According to modern scholarship, the time in which this Tubba' ruled was between 385 and 420 A.D.<sup>(5)</sup>

(p.18,1.6) Quss b. Sā'idah:

Quss ibn Sā'idah of Iyād is described by Isfahānī as having been the Arabs' orator, poet, prudent man, sage and

(1) Ibn ul-Athīr, I, 195.

(2) Ibid, p.306.

(3) al-Ma'arif, p.274.

(4) Ibid, p.28.

(5) See: Jurjī Zaydān: al-'Arab qabl al-Islam, p.123, Cairo.1908.

arbiter in his time.<sup>(1)</sup> He is said to have started certain customs connected with Arabic oratory, namely, standing on a high place when making a speech, saying "ammā ba'd" at the beginning of it and leaning on a sword or a stick whilst making it.<sup>(2)</sup> The speech, which he is said to have made to the people, among whom was Muḥammad, in the market of 'Ukāz, before Islam, is related in various books of Arabic literature.<sup>(3)</sup> In it he exhorted them to see the sound proofs (of God) in this world, predicted the appearance of a new religion and reminded them of death, the inevitable, end of every living being. Shahrastānī states that he believed in the unity of God and the Day of Resurrection.<sup>(4)</sup>

(p.18,11.) Abū Qays Sirmah b. Abī Anas.....

There is nothing to add to what Abu'l-Ma'ālī said about him except that he adopted Islam when the Prophet went to Madīnah, his native town, and that he was old at that time.<sup>(5)</sup> Ibn Ishāq describes him as a man who was truthful and a worshipper of God in the time of Ignorance.<sup>(6)</sup> Verses in

(1) Aghānī, vol.14, p.41.

(2) Ibid,

(3) See: Jāhiz: al-Bayān wa't-Tabyīn, vol.I., p.168. Cairo, 1332. A.H.

(4) Milal, p.437.

(5) Ibn Ishāq: Sīrat, p.348.

(6) Ibid.



praise of God are attributed to him, and also verses in which he described how his people supported the Prophet, while the Prophet's own people, the tribe of Quraysh, opposed him.<sup>(1)</sup>

(p.18,1.16) Khālīd b. Sinān:

Khālīd b. Sinān of the Banū 'Abs is said to have lived before Islam. Information about the time in which he lived is contradictory. While it is stated that he was in the last period of the Ascanians, we are told that his daughter saw the prophet Muḥammad.<sup>(2)</sup> Ibn ul-Athīr observed this, and said that a person whose daughter saw the Prophet must have lived long after the reign of Ardashīr.<sup>(3)</sup> It is said that he was a prophet and some miracles are attributed to him, one of which is that he entered into a huge fire which did not cause him any harm and which died away while he was in the middle of it.<sup>(4)</sup> It is reported that Muḥammad said about him, "He was a prophet whose people wasted him".<sup>(5)</sup> His daughter, who is said to have seen

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(1) See: Ibid, 349,50; Tabarī, vol I, 1247,8; Maqdisī, al-Bad' wa't-Tārīkh, vol.I, p.76,7.

(2) Ibn ul-Athīr, vol I, p.270,71.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid, p.270.

(5) Ibid; Ibn Qutaybah: al-Ma'arīf, p.29, Cairo, 1934; Ibn ul-Athīr: Asad ul-Ghābah, vol II, p.92. Cairo, 1869-71.

the Prophet, on hearing the latter cite, "Say: 'God is One'", stated that her father used to say this.<sup>(1)</sup>

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(1) Ibid.



(P.18, l. 21) Umayyah b. Abī aṣ-Ṣalt:

Umayyah b. Abī aṣ-Ṣalt of Thaqīf, whose home was at Ṭā'if, was a pre-Islamic poet who lived to see the Prophet but did not follow him. Ibn Qutaybah said that he read the former books of Almighty God, gave up idolatry and used to say that a prophet was about to be sent and that the time of his mission was very near. He hoped that he would be this prophet, but, when he heard of the appearance of Muḥammad and of his story, Umayyah, through envy, did not believe in him. When his poems were cited before the Prophet he said, "This man had a tongue that believed and a heart that did not". (1) This tradition and another one in which the Prophet is reported to have said, "This man nearly adopted Islam", (2) if genuine, prove the authenticity of some of the poems attributed to Umayyah, which are in accordance with Islamic ideas. Asma'ī is reported to have said, "Umayyah, in his verses, was mostly concerned with the mention of the other world ..... (3)

In fact, most of the poems attributed to Umayyah have a religious character. Umayyah seems to have been acquainted with some languages other than Arabic. Ibn Qutaybah states that Umayyah in his verses, used words which were unknown

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(1) Ibn Qutaybah: *ash-Shi'r wa sh-shu'arā'*, p. 279  
Leiden, 1904.

(2) *Aghānī*, vol. III, p.190

(3) *Ibid*, p. 188.

to the Arabs and gave some examples,<sup>(1)</sup> while Ibn Durayd says that Umayyah knew Syriac.<sup>(2)</sup> That he had read the Holy Scriptures is stated by most of his biographers<sup>(3)</sup> but that he followed either Christianity or Judaism is mentioned by none. It is said that he was a Ḥanīf, a belief which as Sir Charles Lyall states, "had certain specific features - rejection of idolatry, abstention from certain kinds of food, and the worship of the 'God of Abraham'; ascetic practices such as wearing sackcloth are also ascribed to the Hanīfs".<sup>(4)</sup> Monotheism is the most outstanding feature of the Ḥanīfiyyah, and, for this reason, rejection of polytheism, according to Shahrastānī, is associated with every mention of it (in the Qur'ān).<sup>(5)</sup>

(p. 18, l.24) Saḥbān:

The statements in our book about Saḥbān are not to be found in any other authority. On the contrary, Saḥbān, the famous orator, was a good Muslim who died long after

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- (1) ash-Shi'r wa'sh-shu'arā', p. 279, 80.  
 (2) Taj ul-'arūs, vol. III, p. 286.  
 (3) ash-Shi'r wa 'sh-shu'arā, p. 279 ; Aghānī, vol. III, p. 187.  
 (4) Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, vol. for 1903 p. 773, 74.  
 (5) Milal, p.181. See also : E.1, art. "ḥanīf".



the Prophet. Alūsī states about him that he lived in the time of Ignorance, became a Muslim and died in the year 54 A.H. (1) Besides this, we find that what is related about Saḥbān in our book, constitutes a part of the story of Umayyah b. Abī as-Salt in all other authorities. It was Umayyah who thought that he would be the awaited prophet, it was he who envied Muḥammad and became one of his great enemies when the latter was designated as prophet, and, he was the one about whom Muḥammad, on hearing some of his poems, said, "This man had a tongue that believed and a heart that did not" (2) The only explanation of the presence of the word "Saḥbān" ~ هـ here, is that it is a corruption or a mistake in copying the conjunction ~ هنا . Thus the story of Umayyah, as related in our book, can be found to be in accordance with other works, and the historical mistake about Saḥbān can be eliminated.

(p. 19, l. 5). Zayd b. (Amr b. Nufayl:

Zayd b. (Amr b. Nufayl lived in Mecca before the Prophet's mission. He was contemporary with Waraqah b. Nawfal. (3)

(1) Bulūgh ul-arab, vol. III, p.150.

(2) See: Ibn Qutaybah: ash-Shī'r wa ash-Shu'arā! p.279 Leiden, 1904; Isfahānī, vol. III, p. 187; and also note on Umayyah in this work.

(3) See poetry addressed by Waraqah to Zayd. Aghānī, vol. III, p. 16.

Muhammad, before he was designated as Prophet, met him,<sup>(1)</sup> and Asmā', daughter of Abū Bakr, saw him when he was an old man.<sup>(2)</sup> Zayd became tired of idol worshipping and denounced the religion of his people. He seems to have suffered through this for it is reported that he was driven out of Mecca and forbidden to enter it.<sup>(3)</sup> It is said that he travelled to Syria in search of the true religion, met one of the learned men of the Jews and one of the learned men of the Christians. Asking them about their religions and hearing their answers, he was not satisfied with Judaism nor with Christianity.<sup>(4)</sup> He died a Hanīf. About his faith Ibn Ishāq states, "He withdrew from the worship of idols, abstained from eating that which had died of itself, from blood and from things sacrificed to idols, forbade the burying alive of female infants, and proclaimed that he worshipped the Lord of Abraham".<sup>(5)</sup>

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(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibn Ishāq-Sīrat, p. 144.

(3) Ibid, p. 148.

(4) Aghānī, vol. III, p. 16.

(5) Sīrat, p. 144. Quoted and translated by Sir Charles Lyall: J.R.A.S., 1903, p. 772,3.



(p. 19, 1.5). (Amir b. az-Zarib al-Adwānī:

Shahrastānī states about him that he was one of the wise sages and orators of the Arabs, and mentions him among those who are said to have believed in the unity of God and the Day of Resurrection before Islam. (1)  
 He is reported by the same author to have said, "I have never seen anything that created itself, neither have I seen an object which is not made, nor a comer who will not be a goer. If it were disease that kills the people, medicine could have restored them to life". (2)  
 He abstained from drinking wine. (3) Some of his wise sayings are registered in books of Arabic literature. (4)  
 He is also known to have been an arbiter among the Arabs in his time (5) and was called "the man of judgement" (dhu 'l-hukm). (6)

(p.19, 1.6) (Amr b. Yazīd:

I could not find anything about this man in other authorities.

(1) Milal, p. 438.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

(4) A collection of them can be found in: Alūsī :  
 Bulūgh ul-arab, vol. I, p. 347-9.

(5) Aghānī, vol. III, p.3.

(6) Ibid, vol. IV, p. 129.

(p.19, l.10 - 11) Some of the Arabs were soothsayers ....

The art of divination seems to have been popular among the pre-Islamic Arabs, and many of the events that had great effect on their history are said to have been foreseen by diviners. Examples of these are the destruction of the dam of Ma'rib which was predicted by Zarīfatu 'l-Khayr <sup>(1)</sup> and other events, predicted by Saṭīḥ and Shiqq, which will be mentioned below. Names of some other diviners are Samlaqah, Zawba<sup>(</sup>ah, Sadīf b. Hūmās, <sup>(</sup>Imrān brother of <sup>(</sup>Amr b. <sup>(</sup>Āmir, Hārithah and Juhaynah. <sup>(2)</sup>

Saṭīḥ and Shiqq are stated to have been the most able soothsayers of their time. <sup>(3)</sup> Information about them is legendary. We are told that Saṭīḥ had no bones in his body except the skull, and because of this it was possible to roll him round like a dress, <sup>(4)</sup> and that Shiqq was one half of a man, (i.e., he had one leg and one hand), and, for this reason he was called

(1) Mas'ūdī : Murūj, vol III, p.379-84.

(2) Ibid, p. 352.

(3) Ṭabarī, vol I, p.911.

(4) Murūj, vol III, p.364.



Shiqq (half). (1) The divinatory predictions which they are said to have made, proved to be true. One of these was made to Rabī'ah b. Naṣr, one of the Tubba's of Yaman, who had dreamed a terrible dream which frightened him. Saṭīḥ, having been called to him, told him what he had dreamed, and, interpreting it, predicted the conquest of Yaman by the Abyssinians, the driving out of the latter by Ibn dhī-Yazan, and the appearance of the prophet Muḥammad. (2) Coming afterwards, Shiqq made the same predictions although he expressed them in different words. (3) Saṭīḥ is also said to have made a divination for Kisrā b. Qubād b. Anūshirwān predicting the appearance of the prophet Muḥammad and the invasion of Persia by the Arabs. (4)

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(1) Alūsī, Bulūgh ul-arab, 3, 282.

(2) Ibn Ishāq. Sīrat, p. 9 - 11.

(3) Ibid, p. 11 - 12.

(4) Ṭabarī, vol I., p. 981 - 84.

(p. 19, 1.19). The doctrines of the Philosophers:

It is to be noted that our author presents the philosophers as a religious sect or a group of people who had one conception of God and who preached some practical and ritual observances. He even gives what he considers to be the doctrine of the philosophers with an "isnād" in the same way as a prophetic tradition used to be related.

Shahrastānī classifies philosophers into two groups: those who believed in the tangible and denied all intelligible entities, and those who believed in the intelligible entities besides the tangible but denied the divine laws "sharā'ī". The former are called by him "at-Ṭabī'īyyūn ad-Dahriyyūn", and the latter "al-Ilāhiyyūn"<sup>(1)</sup>. The Ilāhiyyūn are stated by him to have believed in a beginning and an end to the world.

Ghazālī classified philosophers into three groups as follows:-

1. Ad-Dahriyyūn, a group of ancient philosophers who denied the Creator and stated that the world is self-existent from all eternity and will continue to exist for ever.
2. At-Ṭabī'īyyūn, (the Naturalists), who acknowledged the Creator but stated that the soul dies with the body and does not return, thus denying the Resurrection, Paradise and Hell.

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(1) Milal, p.201.



3. Al-Ilāhiyyūn are the later philosophers to whom Socrates, Plato and Aristotle belonged<sup>(1)</sup>.

Ghazālī, when discussing the divine science (mataphysics) of Aristotle, says that the doctrine of the latter bears some resemblance to that of Muslims, but that Aristotle and his followers made twenty mistakes regarding twenty fundamentals. Three of these mistakes, viz: the belief that retribution will be on souls and not on bodies, that God knows universal ideas and not particular ones, and that the world is eternal, lead (their holders) certainly to unbelief<sup>(2)</sup>.

(p.20, l.24). Agathodaemon, Hermes:

Shahrastānī states that Agathodaemon and Hermes are Seth and Idrīs<sup>(3)</sup> (the Arabic name of Akhnūkh "Enoch"). In another place he mentions this but without certainty, as he says, "It is said that Agathodaemon and Hermes are Seth and Idrīs"<sup>(4)</sup>. Concerning Agathodaemon's conception of God Shahrastānī states, "Philosophers related after Agathodaemon that he had said, 'The first principles are five: Almighty God, Reason, the Soul, Place and Vacancy' "<sup>(5)</sup>. Hermes is

(1) Ghazālī: al-Munqidh min ad-ḍalāl, p.8,9. Cairo, 1309.

(2) Ibid, p.16.

(3) Milal, p.202.

(4) Ibid, p.241.

(5) Ibid.

stated to have said that the first thing due from a virtuous man is to revere Almighty God and to thank Him for being given knowledge of Him. Moral counsels dealing mostly with the practical side of life are attributed to Hermes<sup>(1)</sup>.

In another place of Shahrastānī's book, both Agathodaemon and Hermes are stated to have denied the first principles, the existence of the intelligible before the tangible, and to have declared that the world will never end on the grounds that it is God's work which cannot come to an end without His coming to an end with it, and this is impossible<sup>(2)</sup>.

Agathodaemon and Hermes are frequently mentioned by the Muslims as two prophets of the Ṣabians. For a study of them, with other prophets of the Ṣabians, see: Chwolsohn: Die Ssabier, vol.I, book II, C.X. (p.780f.).

For the conception of God according to Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato and Aristotle, as presented by the Muslims, see: Shahrastānī: Milal, p.265, 66, 79, 83, 312f.

Ghazālī, Maqāṣid ul-fālāsifah, p.137-149. Cairo, 1331.

The conception of God according to each of these philosophers, (Pythagoras, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle), as described by modern scholars, can be found in the articles on each of them in Hastings: E.R.E.

(1) Ibid, 241-44.

(2) Ibid, p.292.



(p. 21. ) The doctrines of the Jews:

Shahrastānī summed up the questions which had been the subject of difference among the Jews in his time. He says that the Jews state that the "sharī<sup>(1)</sup>ah" is one and that it cannot be abrogated. But shortly after stating this he contradicts himself by saying that abrogation had been a matter of difference among the Jews, and that some of them stated its possibility. Ibn Hazm's reference to this question is in favour of the latter statement. <sup>(1)</sup> Besides the question of abrogation the Jews were divided between belief in and rejection of anthropomorphism, which arose from some ambiguous passages implying it in the Torah. The theory of the predestined fate as against the free will of man also caused differences among them. As regards this question, the Rabbānites among the Jews resemble the Muslim Mu<sup>(1)</sup>tazilah, and the Qara'ites resemble the Muslim Mujbiraḥ and Mushabbihah. They also differed on the possibility and the impossibility of the 'raj<sup>(1)</sup>ah' (the return of the dead before the Day of Resurrection). The belief in its possibility was based on the story of Uzayr (Ezra) whom God caused to die for 100 years then restored to life, and also from the death of Aaron in the wandering.

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(1) Fisal, I, p.100.

Some of those who believed in Aaron's return said that he died, and others said that he disappeared.<sup>(1)</sup>

These questions, which are stated to have been discussed by the Jews, were discussed at length by the Muslims. Was Islam responsible for their introduction into Judaism? Harkavy maintains that sects arose in Judaism as well as in other religions, under Islam, "as a result of the tremendous commotion produced throughout the Orient by the swift conquest of the Arabs and the collision of victorious Islam with the older religions and cultures of the world"<sup>(2)</sup> Israel Friedlaender made a comparative study of Muslim and Jewish sectarianism, and laid stress on the effect of the Shī'ah on the Jewish sects that appeared under Islam.<sup>(3)</sup>

P.21. 1.2) a group of them attributes anthropomorphism:

The Qara'ites are stated by the Muslims to have been anthropomorphists. Shahrastānī states that their opinion of the predestined fate was like that of the Mujbirah and the Mushabbihah of Islam.<sup>(4)</sup> Murtazā Rāzī states,

(1) Summarised from Shahrastānī, Milal, p.164, 65.

(2) Jew. Enc. I, 553b, article "Anan ben David".

(3) Friedlaender: Jewish Arabic Studies, in Jewish Quarterly Review, New Series, vol.I, p. 183f, vol II, p. 481f and vol.III, p.235f, Philadelphia, 1910 - 13.

(4) Milal, p.164.



"The Qara'ites are anthropomorphists. They say that God is on the throne, that He has a head, hands and legs and all the other organs (of man), and that He goes and comes. In this they are like the Mushabbihah of Islam ..... They also say, like the Mujbirah of Islam, that God can be seen". (1)

On the other hand the doctrine of God, according to the Rabbānites, is like that of the Mu'tazilah. (2)

(p. 21, l. 11) the Nineteen Books ..

I did not find in any of the other authorities I have consulted any reference to these nineteen books of God, in which the Jews are stated to have believed besides the Torah and the Psalms of David. Murtazā Rāzī states that they believed in the nineteen prophets who came after Moses. (3)

(p.21, l. 14) The Samaritans.

The Samaritans are a group of Jews who are named after

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(1) Tabsirat ul-<sup>(</sup>awāmm, p.22,

(2) Ibid

(3) Ibid

Samaria and whose history, as a distinct community began with the taking of Samaria by the Assyrians in 722 B.C. (1) For their history and dogma see:

Jewish Ency. and E. R. E., article Samaritans.

The Muslim accounts of them are not in agreement on many points, and it is difficult to say what the word *Sāmīriyyah* suggested to the Muslims before or in the time of our author. The following are the chief points about them, handed down to us by the more important authors.

*Khuwārizmī* states that they were named after a town in Syria called *Sāmārya*. (2) About their home, *Bīrūnī* states that the bulk of their community lived in Nablus, where they had their churches, and that they had never entered the precincts of Jerusalem since the days of David the prophet, because they maintained that he committed wrong and injustice and transferred the Holy Temple from Nablus to Jerusalem. (3) *Ibn Ḥazm* states that they lived in Syria and considered it unlawful to migrate from it. (4) In contradiction to both of these, *Shahrastānī* states

(1) This is according to the Jew. Enc., but Prof. A. Guillaume maintains that the actual separation was not effected until the Jews expelled the Samaritans from Judea in the 4th cent. B.C.

(2) *Mafātīḥ ul-ʿulūm*, 34.

(3) *Chron.*, trans, p.25.

(4) *Fisal*, I, p. 98.



that they lived in Jerusalem and in some villages in Egypt. (1)  
Is this difference in locating them due to the different times at which these authors wrote?

About their doctrines Bīrūnī states that they were a synceritism of Judaism and Zoroastrianism. (2) They do not acknowledge any of the prophets of the Isra'ilites after Moses. (3) But according to Ibn Ḥazm and Shahrastānī, no prophet is acknowledged by them after Joshua son of Nun. (4) While Ibn Ḥazm states that they denied the resurrection altogether, Shahrastānī says that they were divided on this question into two groups, the Alphāniyyah (called also the Dūstāniyyah), and the Kūsāniyyah. The latter acknowledged the resurrection, reward and punishment, while the former denied the resurrection and stated that reward and punishment would be in the present world. (5) The holy city according to them was Nablus, and they had no reverence for Jerusalem. (6) Their "qiblah" was Mount Gerizim, (printed erroneously Gerim in Shahrastānī). (7)

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(1) Milal, p. 170.

(2) Chronology, tr., p. 25.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Fīṣal, I, 98 ; Milal, 170.

(5) Ibid.

(6) Ibn Ḥazm, I, 98.

(7) Milal, 170.

Their language was different from that of the rest of the Jews<sup>(1)</sup> and they had a different Torah.<sup>(2)</sup> They did not touch other people, and they used to wash themselves, if touched by anyone.<sup>(3)</sup>

(p.21,1.19) The 'Anāniyyah:

The Ananites are the followers of Anan b. David, the founder of the Qara'ite sect, who appears to have been a candidate for the exilarchate about 760 A.D. and who died (between 790-800).

For his history and dogma see:

Jewish Ency. and E. R. E, articles: "Anan ben David and "Kara'ites".

Muslim authors give his name variantly as "Anān", "Anān", "Anānī", "A'ānī" and "Anī". His followers are also mentioned variantly as "al-'Anāniyyah", "al-'Ānāniyyah" and "al-Annāniyyah"<sup>(4)</sup>

About Anān, Bīrūnī states, "He opposed a community of the Rabbanites in many of their observances. He fixed

(1) Ibid, 171.

(2) Bīrūnī, Chron., trans., p.25; Ibn Hazm, Fisal, I, 98. According to Prof. A. Guillaume this is not correct. The Samaritan Torah is practically identical with that of the Jews, but it is written in the ancient script of Palestine.

(3) Bīrūnī, Chron., 25.

(4) Maqdisī: al-Bad' wa't-tārīkh, vol.IV, p.34; Bīrūnī; Chron., tr., p.68; Khuwārizmī: Mafātīh ul-'ulum, p.34. Ibn Hazm: Fisal, I, 99; Shahrastānī: Milal, p.167.



the beginning of the month by the new moon in a way similar to that prescribed by Islam". (1)

Ibn Ḥazm states that the doctrine of the (Anānites is to adhere to the laws of the Torah and those given in the books of their prophets, but to reject and consider as lies the traditions of their learned men (aḥbār) (2)

Other things in which the (Anānites differed from the bulk of the Jews are given by Shahrastānī, who states that the former differed from the latter on the Sabbath and the festivals. For their animal food he states that they ate only birds, deer and fish, and that their way of slaughtering an animal was to cut the back of its neck. They considered Jesus a devoted servant of God who knew the laws of the Torah, re-affirmed them, and called people to them. According to the (Anānites, Jesus never claimed to have been a prophet with a divine law abrogating that of Moses. The gospel was nothing but the collection of his affairs from the beginning of his life till its end, which was compiled by four of his followers, and thus was not a revealed book. (3)

Ibn Ḥazm, ( 456 A.H.) states that there were communities of them in Irāq, Egypt, Syria and Andalusia in the towns of Ṭulayṭilah and Ṭalabīrah. (4)

(1) Chronology, tr., p.69.

(2) Fiṣal, I, 99.

(3) Shahrastānī, Milal, p. 167.

(4) Fiṣal, I, 99. Ṭalabīrah is one of the dependencies of Ṭulayṭilah. See: Yāqūt: Muḥjam ul-Buldān, ed. Wüstenfeld, vol. III, p.542.

In the time of Murtazā Razī, (1st half of the 7th cent. A.H), the Qarā'ites were one of two more distinct sects of the Jews in Persia. The other sect was the Rabbānites. (1)

(p. 22 ) The Rā'īyyah:

The same thing is said about ar-Rā'ī by Khuwārizmī who states, "They (the Rā'īyyah) are named after a man who was called ar-Rā'ī and who claimed to have been a prophet among them." (2)

Birūnī also states that ar-Rā'ī was a psuedo-prophet who appeared among the Jews. (3)

He mentioned him beside Abū 'Īsā 'l-Isfāhānī. (4)

Baghdādī states that the followers both of Abū 'Īsā and ar-Rā'ī (whom he calls Rā'yāniyyah) acknowledged the prophet-hood of Muḥammad without embracing his religion. (5)

Modern scholars have identified ar-Rā'ī with Yudghān, a disciple of Abū 'Īsā, who formed a sect after the latter's death. Yudghān was surnamed ar-Rā'ī (the shepherd). (6)

(1) Tabṣirat ul-awāmm, p.22.

(2) Maḥāṣin ul-ʿulūm, p. 34.

(3) Chronology, tr., p. 18.

(4) See: Jew. Enc., article Ishāk ben Ya'kūb Abadiāh, vol. 6, p. 646f.

(5) al-Farq, p.263, Cairo, 1910.

(6) Jew. Enc. Article Yudghanites; I. Friedlaender: Jewish Arabic Studies in Jewish Quarterly Review, New Series, vol. III, p. 285.



For the doctrine of the Yudghanites see:

Shahrastānī : Milal, p.168-170; Jew. Ency.,  
Article Yudghanites.

(p.22, l.4.) Ra's al Jālūt:

Khuwārizmī states, "Ra's ul-Jālūt is their chief, and the 'Jālūt' means the exiles who migrated from their home in Jerusalem. Ra's ul-Jālūt is one of the descendants of David. The common people among them allege that he does not become a chief unless he has such long arms that, when he stretches them, the tips of the fingers of his hands reach his knees".<sup>(1)</sup> The same information about Ra's ul-Jālūt is given by Bīrūnī.<sup>(2)</sup> The latter adds, after mentioning the physical characteristics of Ra's ul-Jālūt, according to the common Jews, that in the same way people related such things about 'Alī b. Abī Tālīb and his descendants.<sup>(3)</sup> He states also that Ra's ul-Jālūt "was the master of every Jew in the world, and the ruler whom they obeyed in all countries whose orders were carried out under most circumstances."<sup>(4)</sup>

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- (1) Mafātīḥ ul-'ulūm, p. 34, 35.  
 (2) Chronology, tr., p. 68.  
 (3) Ibid, p. 69.  
 (4) Ibid, p.19.

All these Muslim authors referred to the "Rōsh Gola" or "Rōsh Galuth" who, according to the Jewish Encyclopaedia, was the head of the Babylonian Jews who, from the time of the Babylonian exile, were designated by the term "Golah" or "Gālūth". It was an honourary position hereditary in a family that traced its descent from the royal Davidic house. (1)

(P. 22, 1.21) The Tawrāt of the Eighty:

The reference here is to the "Septuagint" or the Greek version of the Old Testament which was on the whole the work of the Alexandrian Jews. This translation was attributed to seventy-two Jewish elders who were said to have been brought from Palestine by Philadelphus, the second Ptolemy (B.C. 285-247). The story of the origin of this translation goes back to the pseudonymous letter entitled "The Letter of Aristeas". This letter states that these Jewish elders worked together on the translation. That they worked separately, and that the results of their work were compared and found identical are fresh details added to the story given in the Letter of Aristeas by the fathers of the church, who quoted or summarised this letter from the second century A.D. downwards. (2)

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(1) See: Jew. Enc., vol. 5, p.288-93. Article Exilarch.

(2) See: H.B. Swete: An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek, Ch. I. Cambridge, 1914.



Our author, erroneously, calls this version of the Old Testament, "the Torah of the Eighty", and states that the king responsible for its existence was one of the kings of the Jews. Khuwārizmī <sup>(1)</sup> also mentions the story of the Septuagint and so does Bīrūnī. <sup>(2)</sup> The latter is the most accurate of all. He states that this version of the Torah was the one in the hands of the Christians, and that it was condemned by the Jews who stated that the translation was made under compulsion and that they yielded to the king's demand only from the fear of violence and maltreatment, and not before having agreed upon inverting and confounding the text of the book. <sup>(3)</sup>

Two other versions of the Torah were known to the Muslims. One is the Torah of the Jews. <sup>(4)</sup> This has been criticised in detail by Ibn Ḥazm. <sup>(5)</sup> The other is the Torah of the Samaritans which was described by the Muslims as having been different from that of the bulk of the Jews. <sup>(6)</sup>

Some laws and practices of the Jews have also been recorded by Muslim historians. <sup>(7)</sup>

(1) Mafātīḥ ul-ʿulūm, p.35.

(2) Chronology, tr., p.24.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibid, p.24, 25.

(5) Fiṣaḥ, I, p.116f.

(6) Ibid, 98; Bīrūnī; Chron., tr., p.25; Shahrastānī: Milaḥ, p.171.

(7) See: Yaʿqūbī : Tārīkh, I, 71,73; Maqdisī, Bad', IV, 36-41.

(p. 26) The Doctrine of the Magians:

The Magians.

Muslim writers give us no definition of the Magians. They connect them usually with Zoroaster in some way or another.

Al-Bīrūnī, who is the clearest of them on this point states, "The ancient Magians existed already before the time of Zoroaster, but now there is no pure unmixed portion of them who do not practise the religion of Zoroaster. In fact they belong now either to the Zoroastrians or to the "Shamsiyya" sect (sun-worshippers)".<sup>(1)</sup>

Our author also differentiates Zoroaster from the Magians by putting him under a separate heading and saying about him, "The Magians say that they had a prophet called Zoroaster.....". Tabarī said the same thing before, when he stated, "In the time of Vishtaspa, Zoroaster, whom the Magians allege was their prophet, appeared."<sup>(2)</sup> Maqdisī and Shahrastānī consider the Zoroastrians one sect of the Magians who comprised other sects besides the Zoroastrians.<sup>(3)</sup>

Mas'ūdī and Murtazā Rāzī merely call Zoroaster "the prophet of the Magians",<sup>(4)</sup> but this does not necessarily

(1) al-Bīrūnī: Chronology. trans. E.Sachau, p.314, London, 1879.

(2) Annals, I, 648.

(3) Maqdisī, al-Bad'wa't-tārīkh, vol.IV, p.26; Shahrastānī, Milal, p.185.

(4) Mas'ūdī, Murūj, vol II, p.124; Murtazā Rāzī, Tabṣirat ul-awāmm, p.13, Tehran, 1934.



imply that they realised no difference of origin between Zoroaster and the Magians, for their expression "nabiyyu 'l-Magūs" can be explained as "the prophet followed by the Magians".

It is to be noted that the time between Zoroaster and the earliest accessible Arabic references to the latter's religion is, at least, fifteen centuries. Considerable changes and developments must have taken place in such a long time. Even if we go back to see what the Classical writers say about the Persian religion we find that they knew several forms of it.<sup>(1)</sup>

It may be useful here to try to explain what is meant by "Magi", and to discuss their relation with Zoroaster, according to modern scholarship.

The name, (Gr. Mávos, Lat. Magus), is from the old Per. Magu.<sup>(2)</sup> It was first mentioned in the Behishtan inscription of Darius. Then, later, we meet with it in the classical writers and it twice appears in the N.T.<sup>(3)</sup>

But who were the Magians, and what was their relation to Zoroaster's religion? Was Zoroaster himself a Magian who stood for the learning of those people in antiquity, or

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(1) Emile Benveniste: The Persian religion according to the chief Greek texts, p.118,119. Paris, 1929.

(2) J.H. Moulton, Article Magi in the E.R.E., vol.8,p.242.

(3) Ibid.

was he a reformer of creeds which existed among Aryan populations before his time, and which in the beginning had nothing to do with the Magians, but which, also, were later adapted by the Magians who established themselves as its priests through long ages? And if so, what is the contribution of the Magians to the Avesta as we have it now? All these questions are still a matter of dispute among modern scholars and until the exact time of Zoroaster's life and his actual teachings are precisely known, and clear information about the Magians and their religion is established, these questions will remain difficult to answer.

J.H. Moulton, who devoted a work to Early Zoroastrianism, studied the Magi and tried to point out their contribution to the Avesta as we know it now. He argues that "the Magi were an indigenous tribe of priests or shamans, the leaders of the non-Ayran population of Media, who, after failing to gain political supremacy in the revolt of Gaumata, secured in two or three generations a religious ascendancy which compensated for any failure".<sup>(1)</sup> The earliest evidence of their activity as a sacred tribe is in or before 591 B.C.<sup>(2)</sup>

That Zoroaster was a Magus is rejected by him, and in support of his opinion he argues that it was only asserted

(1) J.H. Moulton: Early Zoroastrianism, Introd., p.x.

(2) Ibid.



about Zoroaster two or three centuries after the traditional date of his death (660-583 B.C.)<sup>(1)</sup> which is the minimum of antiquity he allows him. He states too that the Magians, having adopted Zoroaster's religion, would make it a central point of their policy to claim the founder as one of them.<sup>(2)</sup>

Concerning the contribution of the Magians to the Avesta he states, "We shall not, I think, be far wrong if we assume for a working hypotheses that the verse parts of the Avesta were preserved by them and that the prose parts composed by them."<sup>(3)</sup> The Gāthās, according to Moulton, are the work of Zoroaster,<sup>(4)</sup> and the Yashts, which are posterior to him in composition, present a mere reversion to Aryan polytheism after his death.<sup>(5)</sup> But the ritual element of the Avesta is entirely congruous with the general character of the Magian religion, while it is incongruous with the spirit of the Yashts, still more with that of the Gāthās.<sup>(6)</sup> That is to say it neither resembles the unreformed Iranian religion, as represented in the Yashts, nor Zoroaster's reformation, as represented in the Gāthās, but represents what he calls the non-Aryan stratum in the Avesta.<sup>(7)</sup> Continuing his

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(1) Ibid, VIII.

(2) Ibid, p.197.

(3) Ibid, 198.

(4) A fact stated also by other scholars.

(5) Early Zoroastrianism, p.182.

(6) Ibid, 198.

(7) Ibid, 182.

Moulton arrived at some conclusions which he discussed in detail in his chapters on the Magi,<sup>(1)</sup> and which he summarised and supplemented in his article on them in the E.R.E. He credits them with certain characteristics which, he says, never found their way into Parsiism.

These were:

1. Their exposure of bodies to birds and carrion dogs, as distinguished by Herodotus (1 : 140) from the Persian Custom of burial after encasing in wax,
2. Their insistence on next-of-kin marriage,
3. Magic,
4. Oneiromancy (skill in divining by dreams),
5. Astrology,
6. Their view of mountains which is different from that in the Aryan and the Semetic mythology, and
7. All that is fairly called dualistic in Parsiism as there is nothing really dualistic in Zoroaster's Gāthās.<sup>(2)</sup>

But the conclusions arrived at by Moulton are far from being established facts. Williams Jackson differs from him on the connection between Zoroaster and the Magi, as he states, after mentioning allusions to Zoroaster in

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(1) Ibid, p.182-253.

(2) Moulton: Article Magi, E.R.E., vol.8, p.243.



various sources associating him with the Magi, "This direct association of his (Zoroaster's) name with the Magi is perhaps to be understood with some limitations; but the Magi were the reputed masters of learning in ancient times and Zoroaster stood for their learning in antiquity. Of the Magian teachings and doctrines it is difficult to form a clear picture, except so far as we may believe them to be reflected in Zoroaster after we have made due allowance for changes and reforms which he may have instituted."<sup>(1)</sup>

About next-of-kin marriage, stated by Moulton to have been a characteristic of the Magi, Jackson says that it seems to have been advocated by Zoroaster and to have influenced his hearers against him.<sup>(2)</sup> Jackson also stresses Dualism as the main characteristic of the Zoroastrian religion, although he admits a strongly marked tendency towards Monotheism.<sup>(3)</sup> Ahura Mazdāh, although omniscient and omnipresent, is never omnipotent.<sup>(4)</sup>

(1) W. Jackson: Zoroaster, the prophet of ancient Iran. p.7. New York, 1921.

(2) W. Jackson: Zoroastrian Studies, p.20. New York, 1928.

(3) Ibid, 28.

(4) Ibid, p.41.

(p.26,1.2-5) Follow with the Magians.....

The early Muslim Jurists were confronted with two conflicting facts about the Magians, viz., that they were never described as "a people of book" either in the Qur'ān or in the traditions, and that, inspite of this, they were treated with tolerance, in the same way as the Ahl ul-kitāb and the "jizyah" was accepted from them, although, according to the Barā'ah, (the last Surah of the Qur'ān to be revealed), it was directed that the "jizyah" was not to be accepted except from a people of book.

Mālik b. Anas said that the jizyah was taken from the Magians because they were non-Arabs ('ajam). According to him, the jizyah was to be accepted from the Ahl ul-Kitāb among the Arabs, and from the non-Arabs whether they were Ahl Kitāb or mere heathens. The opinion of Abū Hanīfah and his followers was like that of Mālik.

Shāfi'ī said that the jizyah was accepted from the Magians because they were Ahl Kitāb.

Abū Thawr said the same as Shāfi'ī.<sup>(1)</sup>

These were the opinions of the Jurists.

Later Muslim authors who were more informed about the religion of the Magians discussed this question.

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(1) For the opinions of these Jurists see: Tabarī: *Ikhtilāf al-fuqahā'* (Kitāb al-Jihād. etc). ed. Joseph Schacht, Leiden, 1933. p.199,200.



Shahrastānī describes them as a people of a doubtful book, (in contrast with books of divine revelation, namely those of the Jews, Christians and Muslims). He states that it is permissible to conclude agreements with them and to deal with them in the same way as with the Jews and the Christians, but that it is not allowed to marry from among them nor to eat from the animals which they kill.<sup>(1)</sup> But al-Bīrūnī and Ibn Ḥazm go further than this. The former describes them as a people who have a book of divine revelation.<sup>(2)</sup> The latter states that a great number of the Muslims acknowledged the prophethood of Zoroaster, then he comments on this by saying that prophethood is not denied to anyone who worked a miracle before the Prophet, and he supports this statement by verses, from the Qur'ān.<sup>(3)</sup> All the Magians related miracles performed by Zoroaster. Some of the Muslims, who considered the Magians to be followers of a book of divine revelation, are, according to Ibn Ḥazm, (Alī b. Abī Tālib, Ḥudhayfah, Sa'īd b. ul-Musayyab, Qatādah, Abū Thawr and the majority of

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(1) Milal, p.161.

(2) Chronology, p.13, Leipzig, 1923.

(3) Ibn Ḥazm: al-Fisal fi'l-milal, vol.I, p.113.

the sect of the Zāhirī<sup>(1)</sup>. The same author states that he had mentioned the proofs of this in another of his books called "al-Isāl", (in the chapters on "jihād", killing animals for food "dhabā'ih", and marriage "nikāh"), and that it is a sufficient proof of this that the Prophet accepted "jizyah" from them when, according to the Barā'ah, it was forbidden to take "jizyah" from anyone who was not a follower of a book of divine revelation.<sup>(2)</sup> That the Prophet accepted "jizyah" from the Magians is mentioned by Tabarī, in the events of the year 8 A.H.<sup>(3)</sup>

Accounting for what was considered by the Muslims as lies and contradictions in the Magian religion, he states that these things existed because the book of the Magians was confined to a certain class, (a statement made also by Tabarī),<sup>(4)</sup> and this, according to Ibn Hazm, allowed them to make changes in it. It was also due to the fact that a great part of this book was destroyed by Alexander, a fact which was admitted by the Magians themselves.<sup>(5)</sup>

(1) A Sunnī sect founded by Dawūd b. (Alī al-Isfahānī who followed the literal meanings of the Qur'ān and the Prophetic traditions.

(2) Fisal, vol.I, p114.

(3) Tabarī, I, p.1600, 1686.

(4) Ibid, I, 676.

(5) Fisal, vol.I, p.113.



(p.26,1.9) They say that Yazdān.....

About this, Maqdisī states the following: "Some of them worship the fire, the sun, the moon and the stars and allege that God is eternal and that He created Ahriman, (Iblīs, according to them), who became an enemy and antagonist of Him. Others allege that Satan, (Ahriman), emanated from God in a moment of bad thinking without God's will. The Zoroastrians (also) are a group of them....."(1) Shahrastānī states, "The Magians believe in two principles, although the ancient Magians stated that these two principles cannot both be eternal. Light is eternal but darkness is temporal..... They believe that the first man is Gayūmarth and that the last prophet is Zoroaster".(2) Then in his study of the Zoroastrians, whom he considers a group of the Magi, Shahrastānī attributes monotheism to Zoroaster by saying that the latter stated that God is one who is the creator of light and darkness which are the origins of all the beings of this world, and the commingling of which is the reason for this existence. They are fighting and quarrelling with each till light overcomes darkness.

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(1) Maqdisī, vol.IV,p.26.

(2) Milal, p.182.

Zoroaster may say that light has a real existence while darkness has a subsequent existence, like that of the shadow which is subsequent to the person.(1)

Now we turn to the opinions of modern scholars on monotheism and dualism in Zoroaster's religion. Moulton states that there is nothing which can fairly be called dualistic in Zoroaster's Gāthās, and he credits the Magi with introducing dualism into Zoroaster's system.(2)  
 "The creative privilege of "the Lie", her independence of Mazdah, the co-eternity in the past of the "Bad Spirit" with the "Holy Spirit", and other crucial notions which later theology developed cannot be proved from the Gāthās"(3)  
 The modern Parsis, also, stress monotheism as a characteristic of their religion.(4)

On the other hand, Williams Jackson considers dualism as the most outstanding feature of Zoroastrianism although he admits a strong tendency towards monotheism in this religion.(5) "Ahura Mazdah, although omniscient and

(1) Ibid, p.186.

(2) E.R.E., article "Magi", vol.8., p.243.

(3) J.H. Moulton: Early Zoroastrianism, p.126.

(4) See: Dhalla: History of Zoroastrianism, p.31  
 New York, 1938.

(5) Williams Jackson: Zoroastrian Studies, p.28. New York, 1928.



omnipresent is never omnipotent. Añra Mainyu, or Ahriman, his co-eval, if not co-eternal rival, is ever hampering, limiting and confining his action, until the millennium shall banish evil from the world and Ormazd shall be all in all".<sup>(1)</sup>

(p.26,1.15) Fire is revered and honoured by them:

Maqdisī says, "They revere fire as a means of approach to Almighty God, as it is the greatest element. Some of them allege that it is from the light of Almighty God and others allege that it is a part of Him".<sup>(2)</sup>

This refers to the fire-cult in the Zoroastrian religion. Dhalla, the modern Parsi scholar, states that Zoroaster "made fire the consecrated symbol of his religion, a symbol which in point of sublimity, grandeur, and purity, on its being the nearest earthly image of the heavenly lord, is unequalled by any of its kind in the world."<sup>(3)</sup>

(p.26,1.16) They do not defile water:

Concerning the water-cult in Zoroastrianism, Maqdisī states, "When they wash their hands, after eating, they do

(1) Ibid, p.41.

(2) al-Bad' wa't-tārīkh, vol.IV, p.27.

(3) Dhalla: History of Zoroastrianism, p.63. New York, 1938.

not introduce water into their mouths, as this is to show contempt for it, but they wash the lips.....It is not allowed by them to bring the dead near the water or the fire".(1)

Homage to the water still exists among the modern Parsis. About it Masani, a modern Parsi author, states, "It is sinful to contaminate water. Such an act offends the presiding spirit of the waters. Those who knowingly take dead matter to the water become unclean forever".(2) It is the duty of any one who sees a corpse floating in a river, to get it out.(3)

(p.26,1.18-19) Making pleasure and drinking wine are considered as devotion:

Concerning this Maqdisi says, "They (the Magians) allege that the happier they become the more unhappy and sad Iblīs (Satan or Ahriman) becomes".(4)

This seems to refer to the practice described by Carnoy, in his account of the rites of the Zoroastrians, and about which he states, ".....Besides this there was

(1) al-Bad', vol.IV, p.27,28.

(2) R.P. Masani: The religion of good life, Zoroastrianism, p.92. London, 1938.

(3) Ibid.

(4) al-Bad' wa t-tārīkh, vol.IV, p.27.



despite Zoroaster's ban upon it, the sacrifice of haoma (Skr. soma), an intoxicating plant of which the stems were crushed in a mortar and the juice strained off; this was presented before the fire and drunk by the officiating priest and his acolytes".<sup>(1)</sup> Dhalla wrote in detail about haoma and the sacrifice of it.<sup>(2)</sup>

(p.26,1.19) They bow.....in adoration of the sun:

About this Maqdisī states, "They perform three prayers in which they turn to the sun wherever it is. The first of these prayers is at sunrise and the second is at midday".<sup>(3)</sup>

Reverence of the sun still exists among the modern Parsis. Masani states that "they turn to it in reverence, and lift their hands in prayer before it".<sup>(4)</sup>

(p.26,1.21) When they eat.....

Maqdisī seems to tell us that the Magians made the "zamazama" when eating, to prevent anything from coming out

(1) A.J. Carnoy: Article Zoroastrianism in the E.R.E., vol.12, p. 865.

(2) See: M.N. Dhalla: History of Zoroastrianism, p.204-207. New York, 1938.

(3) al-Bad'., vol.IV, p.27.

(4) R.P. Masani: The religion of good life, Zoroastrianism, p.86. London, 1938.

of the mouth, as they were anxious to avoid anything that came out from any opening in the human body.<sup>(1)</sup>

(p.26,1.23) They particularly avoid dead animals:

About this Maqdisī states, "According to them, (the Magians), it is forbidden to bring the dead near the water or the fire. Anybody who touches them has to wash in a certain way, (ghusl), as the dead become dirty because of the departure of the soul".<sup>(2)</sup>

(p.26,1.24-p.27,1.1) they allow the marriage.....

Next-of-kin marriage: The question of next-of-kin marriage in the Persian religion has given rise to much controversy. The modern Parsis deny that anything like this existed in their religion, and a scholar from among them called "Darab Dastur Peshotan Sanjana" wrote a treatise entitled "Next-of-kin marriages in Old Iran" (London, 1888), in which he argued against the existence of this practice in the religion of Zoroaster. Modern western scholars give different opinions on this subject. While an authority like J.H. Moulton states that next-of-kin-marriage did not exist among the old Persians, and

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(1) al-Bad', vol.IV, p.27.

(2) Ibid, p.28.



credits the old Magi<sup>(1)</sup> with its introduction into Parsism,<sup>(2)</sup> a scholar like Williams Jackson says that it seems to have been advocated by Zoroaster and to have influenced his hearers against him when he first preached his religion.<sup>(3)</sup> To put aside the complicated question of the origin of this practice, we find ourselves confronted with the evidence of various writers in different times and places informing us of the existence of next-of-kin marriages among the Persians. First comes the evidence of the classical authors which has frequently been discussed by modern scholars, in whose opinion it bears much weight. Then we have the evidence of the Muslim writers some of whom must have known the followers of pre-Islamic Persian creeds, with whom they were contempor<sup>ar</sup>ies. Before I proceed any further I must make it clear that the word "Majūs" as used by Muslim writers ceased to denote that particular ancient Median tribe and became the word for the Pre-Islamic Persian religion which, according to them, comprised Zoroastrianism and other creeds.

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(1) This word here denotes the particular old Median tribe who, later became the priests of the religion of Zoroaster.

(2) Article "Magi" in E.R.E., vol.8, p243, and, Moulton: Early Zoroastrianism, p.204 ff. London, 1913.

(3) W. Jackson: Zoroastrian studies, p.20. New York, 1928.

Maqdisī, who expressly states that he entered into a fire-temple and asked its priests about the name of God in their language,<sup>(1)</sup> and who also gives us a description of the Khurramiyyah, (a group of the Magians), as he saw them in their native lands,<sup>(2)</sup> says the following, "They (the Magians) allow marrying sisters and daughters and they argue in favour of this by what Adam had done".<sup>(3)</sup> Mas'ūdī, as well as our author, attributes this practice to the Magians. Murtazā Rāzī, the author of a Persian book on religious sects written in the middle of the seventh century A.H., states, "The Magians allow marrying mother, sisters, daughters and aunts on the side of fathers and mothers, and anyone who is descended from these". Then he quotes remarks concerning next-of-kin marriages from one of their "vezirs".<sup>(4)</sup> Besides this we have indirect evidence. Bhāfarīd was a heretic who appeared among the Magians and, at their instigation, was killed by Abū Muslim of the Abbāsīd dynasty. Among the principles which he preached and which differentiated him from the orthodox Magians, was the abandoning of next-of-kin marriages.<sup>(5)</sup>

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(1) al-Bad' wa 't-tārīkh, vol.I, p.6.

(2) Ibid, vol.IV, p.31.

(3) Ibid, vol.IV, p.27.

(4) Tabsirat ul-awāmm, p.16. Tehran, 1934.

(5) Shahrastānī: al-Milal, p.187.



From this we see that the evidence of the Muslim writers concerning next-of-kin marriages in pre-Islamic Persia, and its survivals in Islam as late as the middle of the 7th cent A.H., supports that of the classical writers.

(p.27,1.3-4) They do not bury their dead.....

This practice is stated by Moulton to have been originally non-Persian, and to have been introduced into Zoroastrianism by the ancient Magians.<sup>(1)</sup> Dhalla also attributes this practice and its introduction into Parsism to them.<sup>(2)</sup> In any case, this practice still exists among the modern Parsis, who, as Masani states, "expose the dead on the top of a high hill, to the heat of the sun, there to be devoured by carnivorous birds".<sup>(3)</sup> The reason given for this is that the Magi held the elements of nature sacred. The earth was to be kept pure from defilement.<sup>(4)</sup> Precautions against defiling water and fire have been mentioned before.

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(1) Article "Magi", E.R.E. vol.8, p.243.

(2) History of Zoroastrianism, p.135,136. New York, 1938.

(3) The religion of good life, Zoroastrianism, p.147. London.1938

(4) Dhalla: History of Zoroastrianism, p.135.

(p.27,1.4-5) The fire worshipper is called "hirbad":

Khuwārizmi gives the same explanation to the word "Hirbadh" as our author. He states, "The harābidhah" are the fire-worshippers. The singular of this word is 'hirbadh'".<sup>(1)</sup> But in another part of his book, he states, "The 'hirbadh' is the servant of the fire (Khādim un-nār)".<sup>(2)</sup> In any case I could not find in any of the general dictionaries I have consulted, that any fire-worshipper is called 'hirbadh'.

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(1) Mafātīḥ ul-<sup>(</sup>ulūm, p.38.

(2) Ibid, p.116.



(p.27,1.14) The Doctrine of Mazdak:

Most of the Arabic and Persian accounts of Mazdak present him as a social reformer who preached communism as regards women and property and considered it as a means of purifying the true religion and elevating evil from the world. Shahrastānī only attributes to him, beside these social views, some theological doctrines comprising an idea on the commingling of Light and Darkness and some cosmogonical speculations.

Muslim sources on Mazdak, as well as other sources, have been studied by Arthur Christensen in his work entitled "Le Regne du roi Kavadh I et le communisme Mazdakite, Copenhagen, 1925".

Mazdak's movement took place during the reign of the Sasanian king Kavadh I (488-531 A.D.). After attaining a great success for a while, Mazdak and a large number of his followers were killed in a massacre which is reckoned to have taken place in 528 or at the beginning of 529 A.D.<sup>(1)</sup>

For modern references on Mazdak see:

Williams Jackson: Zoroastrian Studies, p.177.

New York, 1928.

Guidi: Article "Mazdak" with bibliography in E.I.

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(1) B rowne: Literary History of Persia, vol.I, p.172.  
Cambridge, 1928.

## (p.28) The Doctrine of Mānī:

It is noteworthy that there have been very few contradictions between the accounts of Mānī's religion given by Muslim authors. The most important of these are the one given by Ibn un-Nadīm, another given by al-Bīrūnī, and a third given by Shahrastānī. Ibn un-Nadīm's account of Mānī's religion is the most detailed one as it dealt with Mānī's life-story, the spread of his religion during his life-time, a summary of the theological ideas preached by him, the fate of Mānī's religion after his death, the books written by Mānī and his followers, and the place of Manichaeans in the Muslim and non-Muslim world of his time. It has been published with a translation and a detailed commentary by G. Flügel in his book, entitled (Mani, seine Lehre und seine Schriften. Aus dem Fihrist des.....an-Nadim, im Text nebst Uebersetzung, Commentar und Index,... Leipzig, 1862).

Al-Bīrūnī, in his Chronology, gives some historical information about Mānī, mentions some of the names of his books which he actually saw and quoted, and gives also some of the religious practices and observances advocated by Mānī.<sup>(1)</sup> There is one minor inadequacy in Sachau's

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(1) al-Bīrūnī, Chronology, trans. Sachau, p.189 - 191.



translation of this section on Mānī. It may be useful to mention it here for the sake of scholars of Manichaeism who rely on the English version. The passage (in p.209, 1.3-4) is translated by him as follows: "Regarding their prophet Mānī they hold two different opinions, one party maintaining that he never worked a miracle, and relating that he only informed the people of the signs and wonders indicative of the coming of the Messiah and his companions".<sup>(1)</sup> The part concerning Mānī and the Messiah should be translated as follows, ".....one party maintaining that he never worked a miracle, and relating that he informed the people that miracles ended when the Messiah and his companions went".

Shahrastānī, while giving very little information on Mānī's life and the religious practices he advocated, is more concerned with the latter's theological ideas, especially his dualistic theory.<sup>(2)</sup>

Actual Manichaean documents were found in central Asia in the first decade of the present century,<sup>(3)</sup> and, later, Manichaean documents were found in Egypt.<sup>(4)</sup>

(1) Ibid, p.191, 1.35-38.

(2) Milal, p.188-192.

(3) Some of these documents were studied in: Williams Jackson Researches in Manichaeism, with special reference to the Turfan fragments, New York, 1932; E. Waldschmidt & W. Lentz: Manichäische Dogmatik aus Chinesischen und Iranischen Texten. Berlin, 1933.

(4) See: C. Schmidt & H.J. Polotsky: Mani-Fund in Aegypten. Berlin, 1933; C. Schmidt: Neue Originalquellen des Manichäismus aus Aegypten. Vortrag... (Sonderabdruck aus Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte N.F.III. 1933. Heft I. Stuttgart. 1933.)

Manichæan studies in the light of recent finds did not modify to any considerable extent the statements about this religion as recorded by Muslim authors.<sup>(1)</sup> Thus, it will serve no purpose to give here a description of Mānī's theories as known to the Muslims. Suffice it here to say that Mānī was born in a village called Mardinu near the site of the modern city of Bagdad in (215) or 216 A.D. The date of his first appearance in public was on the coronation day of the Sasanian king Shahpuhr (Sapor) I, which is usually reckoned to have been March 20, 242 A.D. He was put to death by Bahram I, early in the year 273 or 274 A.D.<sup>(2)</sup>

Mānī tried to form a religion comprising elements from Zoroastrianism, Buddhism and Christianity. This fact is stated by al-B īrūnī,<sup>(3)</sup> hinted at by Shahrastānī<sup>(4)</sup> and proved to be true by modern research.<sup>(5)</sup> In trying to form a religion by combining teachings from different religions, Mānī was not a pioneer in the domains of the Persian Empire, as he seems to have been preceded by not less than two persons

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(1) Compare, for example, the sketch of Manichæism in: Jackson, *Researches in Manichæism*, (p.3-20) with the accounts of Manichæan beliefs given by Ibn un-Nadīm & Shahrastānī.

(2) Jackson: *Researches in Manichæism*, p.6.

(3) *Chronology*, trans. Sachau, p.190.

(4) Milal, p.192.

(5) Jackson, *Researches in Manichæism*, p.7.



who attempted to do the same thing and applied, at least, elements from Zoroastrianism and Christianity. This is an interesting question from the point of view of the relation between Zoroastrianism and Christianity in the latter's early centuries. I will outline here the outstanding points given by Muslim authors on this question, leaving it for a specialist on both religions to go deeply into it.

Christianity is held responsible by al-Bīrūnī for the appearance of heresies in the religion of Zoroaster. He states, "The Persians adhered to the Magian religion of Zaradusht, and they had no schism or dissension in it till the time came when Jesus rose and his pupils spread through all the world preaching the gospel. When they thus spread through the countries, one of them came to Persia, and both Ibn Daysān and Marcion were among those who followed his call and heard the word of Jesus. Part they took from him, part from what they heard from Zaradusht. So each of them derived from both systems a separate doctrine, containing the dogma of the eternal existence of the two Principia. Each of them produced a gospel, the origin of which he traced back to the Messiah, and declared everything else to be a lie.....The difference, however, did not go so far as to separate them and their followers from the bulk of the

Christians nor were their gospels in all matters different from that of the Christians; in some regards they contained more and in others less".<sup>(1)</sup>

The date of the appearance of Marcion is given by Ibn un-Nadīm as "100 years before the appearance of Mānī",<sup>(2)</sup> that is to say, about 142 A.D. Ibn Daysān is stated to have appeared 30 years after Marcion (about 172 A.D.).<sup>(3)</sup> That the movements of these two men were of some importance is indicated by the fact that their beliefs seem to have survived long after them. Mas'ūdī gives as reasons for the appearance of unbelievers, in the time of the Abbāsīd caliph Mahdī, the publication of books of Mānī, Ibn Daysān and Marcion which were translated from the Persian and the Pahlavi to the Arabic by Ibn ul-Muqaffa' and others, and also the composition of books supporting the doctrines of those people by Ibn Abī l-'Awjā', Hammād 'Ajrad, Yahyā b. Ziyād and Muṭī' b. Iyās.<sup>(4)</sup> Followers of Marcion and Ibn Daysān were known as late as the time of Ibn un-Nadīm who wrote in the tenth century A.D. The latter states

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(1) al-Bīrūnī, Chronology, trans. Sachau. p.189.

(2) Fihrist, p.328.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Mas'ūdī, Murūj, vol.II, p.401.



about the followers of Marcion that there were many of them in Khurāsān and that they disguised themselves by pretending to have been Christians.<sup>(1)</sup>

About the followers of Ibn Daysān he states that in China and Khurāsān, there were dispersed groups of them, for whom neither a place of assembling nor a church were known.<sup>(2)</sup> It will take us far out of our way to discuss here the beliefs of Marcion and Ibn Daysān, as related by Muslim authors. The followers of Marcion are stated to have been nearer to the Christians than the followers of Ibn Daysān and those of Mānī.<sup>(3)</sup> All these three sects held the doctrine of the two eternal principles, Light and Darkness, as their chief tenet. They differed on the way in which the commingling of Light and Darkness took place. Christianity, as well as Zoroastrianism, contributed to the beliefs of all of them. Ascetic practices like those preached by Mānī are attributed to the Daysānyyah.<sup>(4)</sup>

(For details on the followers of Marcion and Ibn Daysān see: Ibn un-Nadīm: al-Fihrist, p.328,338-339.

Shahrastānī: al-Milal, p.194-196.

(1) Fihrist, p.339.

(2) Ibid, p.339.

(3) Ibid, p.339

(4) Shahrastānī, Milal, p.196.

Al-Bīrūnī: Chronology, trans. Sachau, p.189.

Fakhr ud-Dīn ar-Rāzī: I'tiqādāt firaq ul-muslimīn wa'l-mushrikīn, p.88,89. Cairo, 1938).

E.R.E. Article Marcion.

(For references on Mānī and Manichaeism see the bibliography given in: Williams Jackson: Researches in Manichaeism. Other sources not included in this bibliography were mentioned above.

For the effect of Manichaeism on Christianity see: Steven Runciman: The Medieval Manichee, a study of the Christian Dualist Heresy. Cambridge, 1947).

(p.28, l.1.) This man was a master in painting:

Fakhr ud-Dīn ar-Rāzī states about Mānī that he was a skilful painter who appeared in the time of Shapuhr b. Ardashīr, but he does not say about him that he put forward his skill in painting as a proof of his prophethood. Mānī's skill in painting is not referred to by Ibn un-Nadīm, or Bīrūnī or Shahrastānī. The followers of Mānī are described by Bīrūnī as being especially fond of having pictures in their books and churches. (2)

(1) I'tiqādāt firaq ul-muslimīn, p.88, Cairo, 1938.

(2) al-Bīrūnī's India, p.53, London, 1887.



The survivals of Manichaeism in Muslim Persia are studied by Sir Thomas Arnold in his (Survivals of Sasanian and Manichaeism in Persian Painting. Oxford, 1924).

(p.28,1.9) Arjank-i Mānī:

This book does not figure in the long list of books and treatises given by Ibn un-Nadīm and attributed to Mānī and the chiefs of his religion after him.<sup>(1)</sup> Neither was it referred to by Bīrūnī who mentioned and quoted a number of Mānī's books.<sup>(2)</sup> It might have been a Manichaean book which did not come within the reach of these two authors.

(p.28,1.10) His teaching was the same as that of Zoroaster:

The most important resemblance between Zoroaster's system and Mānī's system is the Dualistic doctrine. But according to Muslim authors, the Magians declared Ahriman, (the evil spirit), to be temporal.<sup>(3)</sup> Ahriman emanated from Ahura Mazda in a moment of bad thinking.<sup>(4)</sup> On the

(1) See: al-Fihrist, p.336,37.

(2) Chronology, trans. Sachau, p.190,91.

(3) Shahrastānī, Milal, p.182.

(4) Ibid.

other hand, the eternity of Light and Darkness, good and evil, is expressly and clearly stated in Mānī's system.<sup>(1)</sup>

The Manichaeans are placed in the category of the proper dualists who believed in the eternity of Light and Darkness.<sup>(2)</sup>

(p.28.1.14) The Doctrine of the Two Principles:

The "Thanawiyah" is used in Shahrastānī to denote any of the groups who declared the eternity of the two principles Light and Darkness.<sup>(3)</sup> In describing the religion of those whom he called the "dualists", our author attributes to them practices which form<sup>a</sup> part of Mānī's system in other authorities, as will be discussed below. But, he also clearly connects them with Mānī as he says, "They consider Mānī the last of the prophets and they admire him greatly".

(p.28.1.15-21) There are two creators.....

See the good exposition of the opposition between Light and Darkness, according to Mānī, in (Shahrastānī: Milal, p.189,190).

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(1) Ibid, p.188.

(2) Ibid,

(3) Ibid,



(p.28, l.21f.) They consider.....

It may seem that there is some contradiction in our author's account of the religious observances held by the Dualists. While he states that it was obligatory on them to give away one tenth of their property, he says, at the same time, that they only owned dress for one year and considered it unlawful to own more than one day's food. This comes from the fact that Mānī preached two different kinds of practices for two classes of people, namely, the saints and the laymen. Our author did not distinguish the practices of the one class from those of the other. It will help to clarify and supplement our text to quote here al-Biruni's words on this point. The latter states, "He established laws which are obligatory only for the Ṣiddīqs, i.e. for the saints and ascetics among the Manicheans, viz. to prefer poverty to riches, to suppress cupidity and lust, to abandon the world, to be abstinent in it, continually to fast, and to give alms as much as possible. He forbade them to acquire any property except food for one day and dress for one year; he further forbade sexual intercourse, and ordered them continually to wander about in the world, preaching his doctrines and guiding the people into the right path.

Other laws he imposed upon the Sammā<sup>(1)</sup>, (laymen), i.e. their followers and adherents who have to do with worldly affairs, viz., to give as alms one tithe of their property, to fast during the seventh part of their life-time, to live in monogamy, to befriend the Siddīqs (saints) and to remove everything that troubles and pains them".<sup>(1)</sup>

(p.28,1.25) They fast one seventh.....

While Bīrūnī<sup>(2)</sup> confirms our author's statement that Mānī ordered his followers to fast one seventh of their life-time, Ibn un-Nadīm states that he ordered them to fast seven days in each month. The fasting of the Manichaeans, as described by the latter, is a very laborious thing as it is supposed to continue, sometimes for two days without a break.<sup>(3)</sup>

(p.28,1.25-29,1.1) four prayers:

The times of the four prayers imposed by Mānī on his followers, and the way of performing them are mentioned by Ibn un-Nadīm.<sup>(4)</sup> Other religious and ethical observances preached by Mānī were the abandoning of idolatry, the avoidance of telling lies, being miserly, murder, fornication,

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(1) Bīrūnī, Chronology, trans. Sachau, p.190.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Fihrist, p.333.

(4) Ibid.



learning Magic, having doubts about religion and laziness.<sup>(1)</sup>

(p.29,1.3) Buduh:

بوده must be a corruption of Buddhah (بوده). Mānī acknowledged Buddhah as one of the prophets sent by God. Bīrūnī related to us what Mānī himself said concerning this, in his book called Shāburqān. It reads as follows, "Wisdom and deeds, have always from time to time been brought to mankind by messengers of God. So in one age they have been brought by the messenger called Buddhah to India, in another by Zaradusht to Persia, in another by Jesus to the west".<sup>(2)</sup> This has been confirmed by modern research. Jackson fully accepts it as he states, "The religion of Mānī was distinctly and designedly a synthesis. Among his spiritual predecessors he especially acknowledged Zoroaster, Buddhah and Jesus as pioneer revealers of the truth which he came to fulfil".<sup>(3)</sup>

Prophets other than these three are stated to have been acknowledged by Mānī. The longest list is given by Shahrastānī and it includes, Adam, Seth, Noah, Abraham, Buddhah, Zoroaster, Jesus, Fūlus, and a forecast of the appearance of the prophet of Islam.<sup>(4)</sup>

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(1) Ibid; Shahrastānī, Milal, p.192.

(2) Chronology, trans. Sachau, p.190.

(3) Researches in Manichaeism, p.7. New York, 1932.

(4) Milal, p.192.

(p.29,1.5) Mānī.....the last of Prophets:

Bīrūnī states that Mānī, in his gospel, declared himself to be the Paraclate announced by the Messiah, and to be the seal of the prophets.<sup>(1)</sup>

(p.29,1.6-7) The Ṣabians held the same doctrine:

The Sabians meant here may be this particular group of the Manichaeans known by the name of Ṣabians, who, in the time of Bīrūnī, were the only community of Manichaeans living together and whose place was Samarqand.<sup>(2)</sup>

(p.30) Anecdote:

There are some reports which may throw doubts on the authenticity of this story. We have in Pahlavi an account of a religious conference which was presided over by the caliph Ma'mūn<sup>(3)</sup> and in which Muslim, Christian and Jewish theologians were present. In this conference, Abālīsh, a schismatic in the Magian religion, debated with the chief priest of the Magians called Ātar-Farnbag Farrukhzātan.<sup>(4)</sup> The Mobad defeated the heretic and the latter was driven

(1) Bīrūnī: Chron<sup>o</sup>logy, trans. Sachau, p.190.

(2) Ibid, 191.

(3) Gujastak Abalish, (relation d'une conférence théologique présidée par le calife Māmoun). Texte Pahlvi avec traduction, commentaire et lexique par A. Barthelemy. Paris, 1887.

(4) Ibid, p.33,34.



ignominiously out of the palace of Ma'mūn.<sup>(1)</sup> The date of the composition of the account of this controversy is reckoned by its publisher to have been between 817 and 1321 A.D.<sup>(2)</sup> It does not follow from this that Ma'mūn had a tendency towards Magianism but he, being an intellectual man, might have enjoyed the intellectual side of this debate.

Another report by Ibn un-Nadīm refers to a religious chief of the Manichaeans, called Yazdānbakht. This man, who was eloquent, was brought from Rayy, after he had been given assurances by Ma'mūn. Debating with Muslim theologians he was defeated by them. Ma'mūn advised him to embrace Islam but Yazdānbakht apologised for not accepting Ma'mūn's advice, saying to him that he was not one who would force people to change their religions.<sup>(3)</sup> Yazdānbakht seems to have enjoyed some freedom of writing. B īrūnī refers to a work by him which was called, "Refutation of Christians" and which was answered by a Christian called "Jibrā'īl b. Nūh."<sup>(4)</sup>

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(1) Ibid, p.1.

(2) Ibid, p.4.

(3) Fihrist, p.338.

(4) Chronology, trans. Sachau, p.191.

Another report of some significance, by Ibn un-Nadīm, is that he read a statement written by one of the Dualists in which the latter described Ma'mūn as having been one of them.<sup>(1)</sup> This may imply that the Dualists might have enjoyed, under Ma'mūn's reign, a certain amount of peace, however small it might have been. A statement by a modern Parsi scholar seems to support this as, when discussing the fate of Zoroastrianism in the time of the Abbāsids, he says, "The Zoroastrians got a favourable opportunity of peacefully conducting their literary activities; and some of the important Pahlavi works that have come down to us were produced during this period, more particularly in the reign of al-Ma'mūn, (A.D. 813-833)".<sup>(2)</sup>

The Dualists, as well as the followers of many other religions, survived in Muslim countries, and Ibn un-Nadīm was able to give us the names of some of their religious chiefs, and he also mentioned the places in which they lived in the Muslim world.<sup>(3)</sup>

Besides this the nature of the story itself is liable to doubt. The religious conference in which this Dualist debated seems to have been held by Ma'mūn for some

(1) Fihrist, p.338.

(2) Dhalla: History of Zoroastrianism, p.441. New York. 1938.

(3) Fihrist, p.337,338.



intellectual interest and not merely for a religious purpose. He used to preside over debates and conferences of theologians<sup>(1)</sup> and other kinds of learned men.<sup>(2)</sup> This Dualist could not have said what he is stated to have said, and he could not have debated in this way, unless he had been given safety assurances. To kill a man in such circumstances is not an ordinary act, especially from a person like Ma'mūn.

In any case, religious persecution is quite possible under the rule of Ma'mūn, and at any time, and in any place in mediaeval ages. But these things mentioned above may lead us to doubt whether this story is to be accepted at its face value. Its absence in the earlier books of Islamic history, which I have consulted, strengthens my doubts.

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(1) Mas'ūdī: Murūj, vol.VIII, p.301.

(2) Taifūr, Kitāb Baghdād, ed. & tr. by H. Keller, Leipzig, 1908 (Arabic text, p.57,58,75,79).

(p. 31, l. 17) The Doctrine of Idol-Worshippers:

Our author here is concerned with the way in which idolatry was begun. Ibn ul-Kalbī, the author of our chief reference work on Arab idolatry, states that the worship of idols started by the making of five statues representing five persons who were called "Wadd", "Suwā' ", "Ya'ūq", "Yaghūth" and "Nasr", who died in one month and whose death caused great sadness among their relatives. The statues were made by one of the sons of Qābīl and were revered for the sake of the deceased persons, but in the course of time this was forgotten and these statues became themselves the object of reverence and worship. (1).

Maqdisī relates practically the same story but states Satan to have been the maker of these statues. (2)

Shahrastānī, after discussing some of the religious sects of the Indians, states that these sects turned at the end to idol worship as no religion of theirs could have been continued without a personified being present at which they looked and on which they attended. For this reason, the worshippers of spiritual beings and of planets owned idols which, they alleged, were the personifications

(1) Ibn ul-Kalbī: Asnām, p. 51, 52. Cairo, 1924.

(2) al-Bad' wa 't-tārīkh, vol. IV, p.25.



of their deities. In general, an idol is a representation of a non-manifest deity. (1)

Dimashqī, when discussing the Ṣabians, states that the reason put forward by the idol-worshippers among them, for their idolatry, was that they considered idols as permanent representations of the planets which are not manifest at all times. The planets, according to them, are the bodies of the non-manifest spiritual beings, i.e., the angels which are an indispensable means of approach to God, and necessary intercessors with Him. (2)

All these statements, if we take away from them the fabulous historical information, refer to the commonsense rule expressed by G. D'Aviella as follows: "Everyone likes to have near him whatever reminds him of the beings he loves or worships - especially their image; this feeling alone would suffice to explain the frequency of figures representing either persons who have played an important part in worship, such as priests, reformers, miracle-workers, scholars, theologians and martyrs, or the super-human beings to which worship is rendered." (3)

(1) Shahrastānī, Milal, p. 453.

(2) Printed in: D. Chwolson: Die Ṣabier und der Ṣabismus, vol. II, p. 408, 9. St. Petersburg, 1856.

(3) E.R.E., Article "Images and Idols, general and primitive", vol. VII, p. 110.

Bīrūnī also relegates idolatry to another commonsense rule, namely, the inclination of uneducated people towards the tangible things, and their inability to conceive the intelligible which can only be conceived by the learned people who are usually a minority in every time and place.<sup>(1)</sup>

(p. 31, 1,23f) They are of very many different classes among the Indians:

On Indian idolatry see: al-Bīrūnī's India. Ch. 10, p. 53f.). In this chapter al-Bīrūnī related the Indian fables on the beginning of idolatry and quoted an Indian book which described the way of making different Idols;

Muhammad b. Ishāq an-Nadīm: Fihrist, vol. I, p. 345-348.

(p.31, 1.26) Hūshang.

This story about Hūshang is not mentioned in his history in the Shāh-Nāme.

(p. 33, 1.3) The Doctrine of the Indians:

For Muslim accounts of the religions of India see:

Matāhhar b. Tāhīr ul-Maqdīsī: al-Bad' wa 't-tārīkh, Vol. IV, p. 9-19. Paris, 1907.

(1) al-Bīrūnī's India, p. 53.



Muhammad b. Ishāq an-Nadīm: al-Fihrist, vol. I,  
p. 345-349.

Al-Bīrūnī : India, Chapters 2-11. London, 1887, 1888.

Gardīzī : Zayn ul-akhbār. (Cambridge, King's College  
Ms. 213, ff, 197b-209a).

Minorsky, V. : Sharaf uz-Zamān Tāhir Marvazī on China,  
the Turks and India, p.28-34 (English tr., p.40-46).

Shahrastānī: al-Milal wa 'n-Nihāl, p.444-455.

Minorsky made an excellent study of these accounts,  
comparing parallel texts, <sup>(1)</sup> and he came to the conclusion  
that "most of the earlier authors on Indian religions made  
an extensive use of one primary report which he takes as  
having been compiled circa A.D. 800, at the request of the  
Barmakid Yahyā b. Khālīd." <sup>(2)</sup>

The clue to this was given to him by Ibn un-Nadīm who  
made a reference to a fragment written by al-Kindī in his  
own hand. This fragment is stated to have been compiled  
by a man sent to India by Yahyā b. Khālīd to collect the  
medical plants found in India, and to draw up a report on  
Indian religions. <sup>(3)</sup> Information on Indian religions given  
in our book suggests no different source.

<sup>(1)</sup> Minorsky : Sharaf uz-Zamān., p.125-142

<sup>(2)</sup> Ibid, p. 125.

<sup>(3)</sup> al-Fihrist, vol.1, p.345.

(p. 33, 1.21) Ibrāhīm.

The people who believed in the prophethood of Ibrāhīm in India are stated, by Shahrastānī, to have been the Dualists among the Indians, who believed in the two principles, Light and Darkness in the same way as other Dualists. (1)

(p.34, 1.2) Bū Zayd, the wise sage:

Abū Zayd meant here is Abu Zayd Ahmad b. Sahl al-Balkhī. He is described by Ibn un-Nadīm as a man who was learned in the then ancient and modern sciences, and who followed in his books the system of philosophers but was more like and akin to literary men than to philosophers. (2)

This statement about him is endorsed by Yāqūt. (2a) Abū Hayyān at-Tawhīdī mentioned him in many places in his books. (3)

He said about him that no one like him ever existed in former times nor was it possible that his equal would exist in the future, (4) and described him as the master of the people of the Orient in different branches of wisdom. (5)

His biography is given by Yāqūt. He compiled it from Ibn un-Nadīm and from a book on Balkhī and two other men

(1) Shahrastānī, Milal, p. 445.

(2) Fihrist, vol. I, p. 138.

(2a) Mu'jam ul-udabā', Margoliouth. ed. vol. I, p.141.

(3) al-Muqābasāt, p.59, 148, 246; al-Imtā' wa l-mu'anāsah, vol.1, p.26, 212, vol.II, p.38.

(4) Muqābasāt, p. 59.

(5) al-Imtā', vol. II, p.38.



written by a man called Abū Sahl Ahmad b. (Ubayd Allāh, (1)  
 who quoted one of the pupils of Balkhī. (2) The following  
 are the important facts about the latter, handed down to  
 us by Yāqūt.

Balkhī was born in a village called Shāmastiyan in  
 the district of Balkh A.H. 234 or 235. His father was  
 a man from Sijistān who was engaged in teaching children  
 in this village. (3) Balkhī also is stated to have started  
 his career as a teacher of children but his learning raised  
 him to a high position. (4) He went in his youth to Irāq,  
 stayed there eight years, then left it and made some travels  
 in the neighbouring countries. All the time he was meeting  
 distinguished scholars and learning from them and among  
 those who taught him was Ya'qūb b. Ishāq al-Kindī, the  
 well-known philosopher, from whom Balkhī acquired many  
 sciences. (5) He went deep into philosophy, astrology,  
 astronomy, medicine and physics. He studied deeply the  
 fundamentals of religion and this made him doubt for a while

(1) Yāqūt, vol. I, p. 142.

(2) This pupil is called Abū Muḥammad al-Ḥasan b. ul-Wazīrī.  
 See: Ibid, p. 147.

(3) Ibid, p. 142.

(4) Ibid, p. 141.

(5) Ibid, p. 145.

but he was restored to true faith.<sup>(1)</sup> When he had got what he wanted from Irāq and become learned in all branches of science, he intended to go back to his native village. Returning to it by the way of Harāt he arrived at Balkh where he attained scientific fame. When Ahmad b. Sahl al-Marwazī established himself as ruler there he wanted Balkhī to become his vezir but the latter declined this post. He worked as a secretary for this ruler till the latter died.<sup>(2)</sup> After this, Balkhī seems to have gone to his village Shāmastiyan where he bought an estate and settled there <sup>(3)</sup> till he died in A.H. 322, aged 87 or 88.<sup>(4)</sup>

The list of his books as given by Ibn un-Nadīm<sup>(5)</sup> and Yāqūt<sup>(6)</sup> is a long one. Judged by their titles, his books seem to have covered a great variety of subjects. His book called "ar-Radd 'alā 'abadat al-asnām", (refutation of Idolators), is probably the one referred to by our author.

(1) Ibid, p. 146.

(2) Ibid, p. 147.

(3) Ibid, p. 144,5.

(4) Ibid, p. 150.

(5) Fihrist, vol I, p. 138.

(6) Mu'jam ul-udabā', vol. 1, p. 142, 3.



(p. 34, 1.3-4) They consider it unlawful to eat meat:

See: Bīrūnī : India, Ch. 68, p. 276,f. "On what  
is allowed and what is forbidden of foods and drinks".

(p.34,1.9) The Doctrine of Transmigration:

The information given by the Muslims on Tanāsukh can be divided into two categories, one concerning Tanāsukh before Islam and the other concerning Tanāsukh in the time of Islam.

Tanāsukh before Islam: Muslim authors seem to have been acquainted with the existence of this theory among many nations.

Bīrūnī gives an account of Tanāsukh, according to the Indians<sup>(1)</sup>, then he states that the Greeks agreed with them on it and supports this by statements attributed to Plato and Socrates.<sup>(2)</sup>

Baghdādī also states that the Sumanīyyah and the Manichaeans believed in Tanāsukh, and that belief in it was attributed to Socrates, Plato and their disciples by some writers on religious doctrines. He goes on to state that some of the Jews professed Tanāsukh and supported this belief by a story which they alleged to have found in the Book of Daniel, viz., that God transferred the soul of Nebuchadnezzar into seven animal forms and beasts of prey,

(1) India, p.24 - 28.

(2) Ibid, p.28.



and thus punished him. Then finally he transferred him into a monotheist.<sup>(1)</sup>

Shahrastānī states that Tanāsukh had been held by a group in each nation, and that they had got it from the Mazdaki Magians, the Indian Brahmans, the Philosophers and the Sabians.<sup>(2)</sup> He credits some of the pre-Islamic Arabs with believing in it, and presents their belief in the "Hāmah" (a bird which is said to emanate from a killed or a dead person), as a proof of this.<sup>(3)</sup> But this is a

(1) Farq, p.253,54 - The story of Nebuchadnezzar related in the Book of Daniel (Bible, Daniel, IV,29-37) does not indicate belief in Tanāsukh. According to this story God transformed Nebuchadnezzar from his human form to an animal form for seven times (or seven days) as a punishment. Then God restored him to his human form when he knew God.

The story as it stands does not state that Nebuchadnezzar died and his soul was caused to go into the body of an animal as a punishment but what happened to Nebuchadnezzar was a temporary<sup>or</sup> thing which happened only to him during his life-time through the power of God and not according to a law governing the whole universe as the believers in Tanāsukh stated.

In the Qur'an there are two verses of the same nature (2: 65 & 7: 166) in which God is stated to have transformed some of the Jews, during their life-time, into monkeys, as a punishment.

(2) Milal, p.133.

(3) Ibid, 433.

primitive idea, which cannot be compared with the systematic doctrine of metempsychosis.

Tanāsukh in Islam: Two kinds of metempsychosis were known in the time of Islam, Tanāsukh and Hulūl.

Tanāsukh, according to some people, took place by the transmigration of souls between all kinds of living beings, (e.g., a soul of a man can go into the body of an animal after the man's death and vice versa), and according to others, no inter-transmigration happened between different kinds of living beings, (e.g., a soul of a man never goes into the body of any living being other than a man).

Bīrūnī states that the classification of Tanāsukh into four kinds, "naskh", "maskh", "faskh" and "raskh" was the work of some of the theologians (mutakallimūn) who had some belief in this doctrine.<sup>(1)</sup> In this they followed the Greeks who believed that transmigration of souls can take place between different kinds of living beings, (e.g., men and beasts). and statements in this respect attributed to Plato and Socrates by a certain authority are related by him.<sup>(2)</sup> On the other hand, a certain man called Abu Ya'qūb as-Sijzī held the theory that the transmigration of the souls was kept within each particular kind of living beings.<sup>(3)</sup>

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(1) India, p.32.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.



Ibn Ḥazm also distinguishes between the two conceptions in which transmigration was said to take place. He states that those who professed that transmigration is kept within each kind of living beings had no belief in divine laws and were Dahrīs believing in the eternity of this world.(1)

As Tanāsukh is based on no definite proof, imagination has played a great part in shaping beliefs in it, and various kinds of speculations have been related after the Muslims who professed this doctrine.

Of the Muslims who professed "Tanāsukh" are the Ḥā'itīs and the Ḥādathīs, who were considered by Shahrastānī as groups of the Muṭazilah. The founders of their doctrines, Ahmad b. Ḥā'it and Fadl b. ul-Ḥādathī, were two disciples of an-Nazzām, the remarkable Muṭazilī scholar.(2)

According to those people, all the creatures were created by God in a certain paradise and ordered to obey and thank Him. Some of the creatures complied with God's orders and those were kept in the Paradise in which they were created. Others disobeyed Him and those were transferred to Hell. A third group who obeyed some of God's orders and disobeyed others were kept to the present world. Their states in this world

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(1) Ibn Ḥazm, Fīsal, vol.I, p.90,91.

(2) Milal, p.42.

vary according to their amount of obedience and disobedience in the world of the first creation. Ibn Ḥā'it and Ḥadathī believed that there are five worlds, viz., the world of the first creation, (the first paradise), the world of examination, (the present world), two worlds of reward, (one of which contains bodily enjoyments and the other contains spiritual ones), and the world of punishment, (Hell). The creatures of the present world will continue in it by transmigration till the deeds of some of them become all good and those of the others become all bad. Then, the good will be transferred to Paradise and the bad will be transferred to Hell (1).

But Ahmad b. Ḥā'it, Faḍl b. ul-Ḥadathī and other Muslims contemporary with them who professed Tanāsukh/seem to have been before all Muslims. They introduced this doctrine into Islam but they took much care to support it by verses from the Qur'ān which, they alleged, referred to this Doctrine. (2) Shahrastānī says about them that they seemed to have mixed the opinions of the believers in Tanāsukh with those of the philosophers and the Mu'tazilah. (3)

(1) Ibid, p.42-44.

(2) Ibid, p.44; Ibn Ḥazm: Fiṣal, I, 91.

(3) Milal, p.44.



The doctrine of Ibn Ḥā'it̄ as well as other doctrines of some of his disciples are given by Baghdādī, in his chapter on Tanāsukh.<sup>(1)</sup> Nawbakhtī also attributes some speculations concerning the transmigration of souls to some of the sects of the extremist Shī'ah.<sup>(2)</sup>

Murtazā Rāzī, who wrote in the first half of the 7th cent. A.H., devotes a special chapter to the believers in Tanasukh, in which he has collected a lot of information available in earlier works but which still contains some information which is not to be found in these works. He states that all the philosophers, the Magians, the Jews, the Christians, the Ṣabians and most of the Muslim heretics, believed in Tanāsukh. Murtazā Rāzī relates many Qur'anic verses adapted by the Muslim believers in Tanāsukh to their doctrine. But those Islamic believers in Tanāsukh denied one of the essential doctrines of Islam viz., the world to come. In their opinion the present world turns round to no end and the resurrection, according to them, is the departure of the soul from one body and its incarnation in another. If the deceased person were good during his lifetime his soul would go into the body of a good man and if he were bad, his soul would go into the body of a bad man or even into

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(1) See: Farq, p.253f.

(2) Firaq ash-shī'ah, p.32-37.

that of a beast, and this is the way in which souls are either rewarded or punished. Bodies are like clothes for souls, and thus the latter abandon the former when they become old. It is also attributed to Ibn Ḥā'it and Ḥadathī, by Murtazā Rāzī, that they have said that any troubles or diseases which may happen to children or animals in the then present cycle of the world are punishments for sins they might have committed in a former cycle. He logically argues with them by saying that if anyone did them any harm they should not blame him as this must have been, according to their doctrine, a punishment for some sin they might have committed in a former cycle of the world. Meanwhile, there would be no need for laws instituting punishments for crimes.

Do people in the first cycle know each other in the second? This is a question on which they differed, some of them stating that they do and others stating that only the souls transferred from human bodies to human bodies recognise each other. A man in the first cycle will become a woman in the second and vice-versa. Anyone who practises sexual intercourse with a beast will have his soul transferred into the body of a beast of the same kind as the one with which he commits this sin. The length of



each cycle, (dawr), is stated by some of them to be 12,000 years and by others to be 1000 years.

Another theory on the cycles of the world, held by some of them, is that God created seven Adams. The existence of each of them with his descendants on earth is to last 50,000 years. When this period elapses on the first Adam and his descendants, the good among them will be raised to the sky and the bad will be pushed into the earth. This is the meaning of the resurrection. Then comes Adam the second, and, after the same period, the good among his descendants will be raised to the second sky and the bad will be placed in the second earth. Thus, the seven Adams will succeed one another till Adam the seventh. When the latter goes with his descendants to the seventh sky they will become spiritual angels and worship God. The evil-doers will go from one earth to another below it till they reach the seventh earth and there they will be the source of the insects of earth.<sup>(1)</sup>

The other kind of metempsychosis, known to the Muslims, is *Hulūl* (incarnation). It is mostly applied to mean the transfusion of the divine soul or any super-natural being into the bodies of worldly beings, although it can be

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(1) Summarised and arranged from: Murtazā Rāzī: *Tabṣīrat ul-awamm*, p.87 - 90. Tehran, 1934.

applied to a case of transmigration of a soul from one worldly being to another. The Ḥulūl can be with a part, "juz", or with a whole, "kull". The first is like the shining of the sun through a window or through a piece of crystal. The second is like the appearance of an angel in the form of a man or the appearance of a devil in the form of an animal.<sup>(1)</sup>

Ash'arī states that in his time a group of the Sūfīs believed in Ḥulūl, and that God may go into (the body of) a man, a beast or any person. The believers in this doctrine, when they saw something which they liked, used to say that probably God was incarnate in it.<sup>(2)</sup>

Fakhr ud-Dīn ar-Rāzī, also, mentioned the Ḥulūlīs, a group of the Sūfīs, who alleged either the incarnation of God in them, "ḥulūl", or their unity with Him, "ittiḥād".<sup>(3)</sup>

Shahrastānī states that all the sects of the extremist Shī'ah agree in professing Tanāsukh and Ḥulūl.<sup>(4)</sup> But the exposition of the doctrines of those Shī'īs according to Ash'arī<sup>(5)</sup> and Shahrastānī<sup>(6)</sup> shows us that their application

(1) Shahrastānī, Milal, p.133.

(2) Maqālāt, p.13,14,288.

(3) I'tiqādāt firaq ul-muslimīn...., p.73, Cairo, 1938.

(4) Milal, p.133.

(5) Maqālāt, p.5 - 16.

(6) Milal, p.132 - 145.



of the doctrine of Ḥulūl was mostly limited to the persons of their Imams and leaders.<sup>(1)</sup> Muslim sects who professed Ḥulūl whether Ṣūfīs or Shī'īs, have been discussed by Baghdādī in a special chapter.<sup>(2)</sup> Some information about them can be found also in Malatī's book.<sup>(3)</sup>

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(1) See the notes on the Extremist Shī'ah in the present treatise.

(2) Farq, p.241 - 250.

(3) at-Tanbīh wa'r-radd (alā ahl al-ahwā', p.17-19. Istanbole, 1936.

(p. 35, l. 3)                      The Doctrine of the Ṣabians.

Two different groups called by this name have been identified by modern scholarship: "1. The Mandaeans or the Subbus, a Judaeo-Christian sect practising the rite of Baptism in Mesopotamia (Christians of John the Baptist),<sup>(1)</sup> 2. The Ṣabians of Ḥarrān, a Pagan sect which survived for a considerable time under Islam."<sup>(2)</sup>

A third group of people were called by this name in the tenth century A.D. Bīrūnī, when discussing the state of Manichaeans in his time, tells us that there was a community of them in Samarqand known by the name of Ṣabians.<sup>(3)</sup> Our author seems to have referred to those people when he said, after discussing Mānī's doctrine, "The Ṣabians hold the same doctrine."<sup>(4)</sup>

The Ṣabians discussed here by our author are the Ṣabians of Ḥarrān. A good deal of Muslim data on these people has been collected and studied by D. Chwolsbhn in

(1) The Mandaeans have survived. Up to the present day there are communities of them in Iraq and Iran. These were studied by E.S. Drower in her book, "The Mandaeans of Iraq and Iran", Oxford, 1937.

(2) Carra de Vaux: Art. Sabi'a in E.l.; See also: Ency. Brit., Art. Ṣabian, vol XXIII, p.946f.

(3) Bīrūnī: Chronology, trans. Sachau, p. 191.

(4) Bayān al-Adyān, p. 18.



his "Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus, vol.II, St. Petersburg, 1856". This can be supplemented by the following:

Dozy and De Goeje: Nouveaux documents pour l'études de la religion des Harraniens, in (Actes du Sixième Congrès International des Orientalistes tenu en 1883 à Leide, Vol.II, p.281f. Leiden, 1885)

Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir al-Maqdisī: al-Bad' wa't-tārīkh, vol. IV, p.22 - 24. Paris, 1907.

Bīrūnī: Chronology (Arabic text), p.204 - 206, 318 - 322, 331.

Abu 'l-Ma'ālī Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd Allāh: Bayān ul-adyān, p. 20 - 21.

Murtazā Rāzī: Tabṣīrat ul-'awāmm, p. 26 - 27, Tehran, 1934.

Information about the Ṣabians of Ḥarrān must have reached the Muslims through the Ṣabians themselves who lived in Mesopotamia not far from Bagdad, and many of whom played an active role under the Muslim state. There were writings on Ṣabianism by Ṣabians, Christians, Jews and Muslims in the early centuries of the Hijrah. The titles of a number of these books, with some information on them, have been collected by Chwolsohn.<sup>(1)</sup>

Muslim texts on the Ṣabians parallel to our author's text, although much more detailed, are Maqdisi's account of them<sup>(2)</sup> and the first part of Ibn un-Nadīm's account.<sup>(3)</sup>

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(1) Die Ssabier, Bd.II, introd.p.I-XXXII.St.Petersburg,1856.

(2) al-Bad', vol.Iv, p.22-24.

(3) Fihrist, vol.I, p.318-p.320, line 9.

Maqdisī and Ibn un-Nadīm referred to a man called Ahmad b. at-Ṭayyib at the beginning of their texts. Ibn un-Nadīm introduced his quotation from at-Ṭayyib by saying, "A report on them (the Ṣabians) related by Ahmad b. at-Ṭayyib from al-Kindī." (1)

Who was Ahmad b. at-Ṭayyib? Ibn un-Nadīm gave us a short biography of him saying that he was one of the disciples of al-Kindī and that he was learned in many ancient and Arabic sciences. (2) He was at first a teacher of the Abbāsīd caliph al-Muṭtaḍid (279-289), then became one of his close friends and companions. (3) Later he was ordered to be arrested by al-Muṭtaḍid in A.H. 283. (4) He was killed in A.H. 286. (5) Ibn Abī Uṣaybiḥ states that at-Ṭayyib compiled a book for this caliph called "al-Lahw wa'l-malāḥī" (Pleasure and Amusements), in which he said that he compiled it when he was 61 years old. (6) If we take it that this book had been completed just before his arrest, his minimum age at the time of his death must have been about 64.

(1) Ibid, p.318.

(2) Ibid, p.261.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Mas'ūdī, Murūj, vol.VIII, p.179; Ibn Abī Uṣaybiḥ, Ṭabaqāt ul-aṭibbā', vol.I, p.214, Cairo, 1882.

(5) Ibid, 215.

(6) Ibid, 215.



Among the works attributed to at-Ṭayyib which, judged by their titles, seem to have covered a number of different branches of wisdom, there is a work entitled "Risālah fī waṣf madhhab as-ṣābi'īn" (A Treatise on the description of the doctrine of the Ṣabians).<sup>(1)</sup>

Al-Kindī is stated to have been a direct source of at-Ṭayyib.<sup>(2)</sup> Among the works of the latter there are two which might have contained some information on the Ṣabians. One of them is called "Risālah fīmā jarā bayna suqrāt wa'l-ḥarrāniyyīn"<sup>(3)</sup> (A treatise on that which took place between Socrates and the Harranians). The other is called "Risālah fī iftirāq al-milal fī't-tawḥīd wa annahum mujmi'una 'alā't-tawḥīd wa kullun qad khālafā ṣāhibah",<sup>(4)</sup> (A treatise on the divergence of religions on the question of the unity of God, on which all of them are agreed (in general) but disagree in detail). Another alternative is that at-Ṭayyib might have heard some information about the Ṣabians verbally from al-Kindī in one of the latter's lessons. Furthermore, at-Ṭayyib had had literary

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(1) Fihrist, p.262.

(2) Ibid, p.318.

(3) Ibid, p.260.

(4) Ibid, p.259.

correspondence with the celebrated Harrānian scholar, Abu'l-Ḥasan Thābit b. Qurrah as-Ṣābī (211-288 A.H.) Writings from each of them to the other are mentioned among the works of both.<sup>(1)</sup>

After this short note on at-Ṭayyib, we return to the discussion of the three texts on the Ṣabians, those of Maqdisī, Ibn un-Nadīm and Abu 'l-Ma'ālī. The earliest of these is the text of Maqdisī (355 A.H.). Then comes that of Ibn un-Nadīm (378 A.H.). Our author's text is the latest (485 A.H.). Ibn un-Nadīm's text is the most detailed of the three and that of our author is the briefest. Maqdisī's book was known to Abu 'l-Ma'ālī and he quoted it on some occasions,<sup>(2)</sup> while Ibn un-Nadīm's book was never mentioned by him. He does not seem to have used it. But although Abu 'l-Ma'ālī used Maqdisī's book before, it does not follow that he quoted it here. Abu 'l Ma'ālī's account of the Ṣabians contains some statements about them which are not to be found in the text of Maqdisī, namely the information given by him about the days of their fast, that they do not eat meat during these days and that they hold supererogatory prayers to the fixed stars, each day to the star after which that day was called. This does not eliminate the possibility that at-Ṭayyib might have been the source of our author as Ibn un-Nadīm and Maqdisī, who

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(1) For Thābit b. Qurrah see: Qiftī: Tārīkh ul-ḥukamā', p. 117, Leipzig 1903; For at-Ṭayyib see: Ibid, p.78; Ibn Abī Uṣaybi'ah, vol.I, p.215.

(2) Bayān al-adyān, p.5,8.



stated at-Ṭayyib to have been their direct source, differ on some details. Furthermore our author referred to a book called "Ikhtisārāt" (Abridgements) by a man called أبو الحسن نورى about whom nothing is known. Did this book contain an abridgement of the doctrine of the Ṣabians (as described by at-Ṭayyib or did it contain information drawn from the same source used by at-Ṭayyib? These are questions which cannot be answered at present.

(p. 35, 1.5) The Ṣabians linguistically.....

Many of the commentators of the Qur'ān and the Arab linguists give the same explanation for the word "Ṣābī" as our author.<sup>(1)</sup> Some authors give fictitious explanations, (e.g.: Dimashqī states that the Ṣabians are named after Ṣābī b. Hermes<sup>(2)</sup> and another states that they are named after Ṣābī b. Lam-k brother of Noah.)<sup>(3)</sup> Modern research revealed that it is either from an Aramic root<sup>(4)</sup> or from the Hebrew root s-b- (to plunge, to immerse) by loss of 'ain and must mean 'baptists', those who practise baptism by immersion.<sup>(5)</sup> The Pagan Ṣabians may have adopted this name to escape persecution and to enjoy the advantages granted in the Qur'ān to the Jews and Christians.<sup>(6)</sup>

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(1) See texts in Chwolson: Die Ssabier, vol. II, p. 557, 58, 59, 63, 65, 67, 90, 91.

(2) Ibid, p. 410.

(3) Ibid, p. 563.

(4) Ency. Brit. Article Ṣabians, vol. XXIII, p. 964.

(5) E. I., Article Ṣābī'a

(6) Bīrūnī, Chronology, p. 318; Ibn un-Nadīm, Fihrist, I, 320; Khuwārizmī, Maḥāṭih, ul-ūlūm, p. 36; E. I. Article Ṣābī'a.

(p. 35, L.8) Adāni, Agathodaemon, Hermes and Solon:

The Prophets of the Ṣabians, as given by Abu'l-Ma<sup>(-)</sup>ali<sup>(-)</sup>, are the same as those mentioned by Ibn un-Nadīm with the exception that ادا<sup>(1)</sup>نی is printed ارا<sup>(2)</sup>نی in the latter's text. It is also printed ارا<sup>(2)</sup>نی in three of the different texts collected by Chwolsohn For a note on ارا<sup>(2)</sup>نی see:

Chwolsohn: Die Ssabier, vol. II, p.58, note 24.

For the prophets of the Ṣabians see:

Ibid, vol. I., book II, C. X (p.180-202).

(p. 35, L. 11-13) They perform .....

About the prayers of the Ṣabians Ibn un-Nadīm states, "It is obligatory on them to perform three prayers every day, the first of which is to be performed half-an-hour before sunrise so that it can be finished by sunrise. It consists of eight inclinations (rak<sup>(-)</sup>at), each of which contains three prostrations (sajdāt). The second prayer is to be performed at noon, and it consists of five inclinations each of which contains three prostrations. The third prayer is like the second and it is to be performed at sunset".<sup>(3)</sup>

(1) Fihrist, vol. I, p. 318, l.20-21.

(2) Die Ssabier, vol. II., p.4, 379, 527.

(3) Fihrist, vol. I, p.318, l. 24-27.



(p.35,1.13-16) They hold supererogatory.....

Maqdisī says, "They pray every day to the star which is the lord of this day, thus, they pray to Saturn on Saturday, to the Sun on Sunday, to the Moon on Monday, to Mars on Tuesday, to Mercury on Wednesday, to Jupiter on Thursday and to Venus on Friday".<sup>(1)</sup> About the supererogatory prayers of the Sabians Ibn un-Nadīm says that they perform three of them every day, the first prayer at the second hour of the day, the second at the ninth hour and the third at the third hour of the night.<sup>(2)</sup> Maqdisī, Ibn un-Nadīm and Bīrūnī say that purification must precede their prayers.<sup>(3)</sup>

(p.35,1.16) Their days of fast.....

About the fast of the Sabians Ibn un-Nadīm says, "It is obligatory on them to fast thirty days, eight of which fall from the new moon of Ādhār till the eighth day after it, then another nine days which begin on the ninth day before the new moon of Kānūn ul-Awwal and another seven days which begin on the eighth day after the new moon of Shabāt. The latter are the greatest of these days of

(1) Bad', vol.IV., p.23.

(2) Fihrist, vol.I, p.319,1.2-4. See also: Bīrūnī: Chronology, p.206.

(3) Maqdisī, p.23; Ibn un-Nadīm, p.319, Bīrūnī, Chronology, p.306.

fast. They have a supererogatory fast, namely, seventeen and twenty-seven days".<sup>(1)</sup>

(p.35,1.22) sacrifices.....

Other animals killed for sacrifice, by the Ṣabians, and other foods forbidden by them, are mentioned by Ibn un-Nadīm.<sup>(2)</sup>

(p.36,1.3) They admit the punishment of the souls.....

About this Maqdisī says, "Reward and punishment reach the souls without postponement to a certain time (i.e., Day of Resurrection). They get what they deserve when they leave the bodies".<sup>(3)</sup>

Ibn un-Nadīm states the same thing.<sup>(4)</sup>

(p.36,1.6) The Doctrine of the Qarāmitah.....

For the doctrines of the Qarāmitah and the Zanādiqah see:

E.I., Articles "Ḳarmatians" and "Zindīk" and the references given there.

For the Khurramdīnān see:

(1) Fihrist, vol.I, 319.

(2) See: Ibid, p.319.

(3) Bad', vol.IV, p.23,24.

(4) Fihrist, p.319,1.27.



Gholaṃ Hossein Sadighi: Les Mouvements Religieux  
 Iraniens aux 11<sup>e</sup> a 111<sup>e</sup> siècle de l'hégire, p.187f,  
 Paris, 1938;

E.I., Article Khurramīya.

(p.36,1.18) The Ibāḥatiān:

About the Ibāḥiyyah, Ghazālī states that they were people who, because of their great laziness, could not bear performing the prayers and keeping the fast. They were overcome with desire of wine-drinking and of committing fornication. This caused them to lose their sense of honour and their jealousy of their wives whom they did not mind allowing to sit with strangers. They considered this lack of honour to be true faith, and said that a man attains perfection when he sees another man with his wife at his home and takes not the slightest notice. But if this affects him in the least, it is because he has not attained self-mortification, which is the quality of the perfect man.<sup>(1)</sup>

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(1) Die Streitschrift des Ghazālī gegen die Ibāḥīja,  
 Persian text, p.2., München, 1933.

(p.37) The Sophists...

It seems that Islam, in its early centuries, had known some people who adopted the ways of thinking of the Greek Sophists.

Maqdisī, after mentioning the Greek Sophists and arguing with them says, "Two kinds of people among this community, (the Muslims), adopted this opinion, the imitator who does not believe in reflection and the one who alleges that a negative cannot be proved".<sup>(1)</sup>

Nawbakhtī says, "I notice that many of the theologians had committed a great mistake, as regards those people, (the Sophists), because they debated and argued with them and intended to refute their opinions in this way, while the Sophists do not recognise any reality, neither do they acknowledge seeing (as a means of knowing). How can you speak to a person who says (to you) 'I do not know whether you speak to me or not', and how can you argue with one who alleges that he does not know whether he is existent or non-existent".<sup>(2)</sup>

(1) Bad', vol.I, p.49.

(2) Extrait from Nawbakhtī's "al-Ārā' wa'd-diyānāt", published with his "Firaq ash-Shī'ah", Introd., p. کب.



Baghdādī classified the Sophists into three groups, one of which stated that nothing has reality neither is there any knowledge of anything. The second group stated that they did not know whether beings and sciences have any reality or not, and, the third stated that things have realities which are subject to people's conceptions of them, (i.e., the reality of a thing varies from one man to another according to the conception of each of them of this thing), and thus all conceptions are true according to those people.<sup>(1)</sup> Ibn Ḥazm also mentions these three groups of the Sophists after some of the Mutakallimūn, and then tries to refute their opinions.<sup>(2)</sup>

Ṣāliḥ b. (Abd ul-Quddūs seems to have been one of those people. He lost a son. Abu'l-Hudhayl al-ʿAllāf, the Muʿtazilī, paid him a visit of sympathy. "I do not see a reason for your sadness, unless you consider people as plants which die and do not return", said Abu'l-Hudhayl. Ṣāliḥ answered that the cause of his sorrow was that his son died before reading the book of doubt. Asked what the book of doubt was, he said that it was a book written by him which could make the person who read it doubt everything.<sup>(3)</sup>

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(1) Uṣul ud-dīn, p.6.7.

(2) Fiṣal, vol.I, p.8f.

(3) Ibn ul-Jawzī: Naqd ul-ʿIlm, p.43. Cairo, 1340.

A COMMENTARY ON THE SUNNĪS, THE SHĪ'ĪS AND THE KHĀRIJĪS  
IN THE PRESENTATION OF ABU'L-MA'ĀLĪ.



CHAPTER IV.

(p.47,1.8) The Sunnīs. 1

The account of the beliefs of the Sunnīs given by our author contains the headings of their important questions. 3  
Compare it with the brief accounts given in:

Ash'arī : Maqālāt, vol.I, p.290 - 297.

Bghdādī : Farq, p.309 - 325. 6

The beliefs of the Sunnīs have been discussed in detail and presented with arguments against the other sects by many authors at different times. The following are 9  
some of the important works on this subject, arranged chronologically

(1) Ash'arī: al-Ibānah (an usūl ad-diyānah, Hyderabad, 12  
1321. Translated by W.C. Klein, New Haven, 1940.

(2) Ash'arī: al-Luma' fi 'r-radd (alā ahl az-zaygh 15  
wa'l-bida', Brit. Mus.Ms. Or.3091.

(3) Baghdādī: Usūl ud-dīn, Istanbole, 1928.

(4) Abd ul-Malik al Juwaynī (Imam ul-Haramayn): al-Irshād, 18  
Paris, 1938.

(5) Ghazālī: Kitāb ul-arba'in fi usūl ad-dīn, Cairo, 1925.

(6) Shahrastānī: Nihāyat ul-iqdām fī 'ilm al-kalām, ed. 21  
with partial translation by Prof. A.  
Guillaume, Oxford, 1934.

(7) Fakhr ud-Dīn ar-Rāzī: Kitāb ul-arbaʿīn fī uṣūl ad-dīn,  
Hyderabad, 1353.

Shahrastānī, in his resumé of the beliefs of the Ṣifātiyyah, (a general name used by him for the Sunnīs and others who asserted God's attributes), showed how the former orthodox Muslims like Mālīk b. Anas believed in the attributes of God without trying to understand them, and rejected anthropomorphism. The same attitude was adopted by people who came later like Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and Dāwūd al-Iṣfāḥanī, who refrained from explaining the ambiguous Qur'anic verses and Prophetic traditions and strictly rejected anthropomorphism.<sup>(1)</sup> But some of the orthodox scholars, like ʿAbdullāh b. Saʿīd al-Kullābī, Abu'l-ʿAbbās al-Qalānisī and al-Ḥārith b. Asad al-Muḥāsibī, started to support the beliefs of the early Sunnīs by dialectic proofs ( *حجج كلامية* ) and theological arguments. Then came Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Ashʿarī who supported the Sunnī beliefs with the systems of Kalām. His doctrine became that of the Sunnah and Jamāʿah and the name Ṣifātiyyah gave way to the appellation Ashʿariyyah<sup>(2)</sup>. Shahrastānī then summarizes the doctrine of al-Ashʿarī and mentions the modifications which were introduced into it by some of the well-known Ashʿarites who flourished before his time, like Abū Bakr al-Bāqillanī and ʿAbd ul-Malik al-Juwaynī<sup>(3)</sup>.

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(1) Milal, p.64,65,75,76.

(2) Ibid, p.65.

(3) Ibid, p.65F.



As Ash'arī was the real founder of the Kalām of the Sunnīs, he will be the chief source used in this commentary on my author's account of the Sunnī beliefs.

(p.47,1.14,15) God, with all His attributes is declared eternal.

For the conception of God and His attributes, according to the Sunnīs see:

Ash'arī : Ibānah, p. 54 - 67;

Ash'arī : Luma', f.1 - 26;

Baghdādī : Uṣūl, p.70 - 114;

Shahrastānī : Nihāyat, Arabic text, p.180f., tr., p.69 f.

(p.47,1.15) The Qur'ān is not created

The Mu'tazilah, the Khawārij, the Zaydiyyah the Murji'ah and many of the Rāfiḍah (the Imāmī Shī'ah) stated that the Qur'ān is the speech of God which was created by Him.<sup>(1)</sup> The champions of this theory are the Mu'tazilah, who considered the Sunnī doctrine of the uncreated Qur'ān as destroying the unity of God, by suggesting the existence of a second eternal being.

To prove their theory of the uncreated Qur'ān, the Sunnīs used quotations from the Qur'ān and the Traditions, as well as mere theoretic arguments. The following are two examples to show their method of argument:

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(1) Ash'arī, Maqālāt, p.582.

Ash'arī begins one of his arguments as follows, "If anyone asks us, 'Why do you state that God is eternally speaking and that His speech is uncreated?', we say to him, 'We state this because God said, 'Our word to a thing when We will it is but to say 'Be' and it is' (1) If the Qur'ān has been created God must have said to it, 'Be'. The Qur'ān is God's speech, and it is impossible that it had been so addressed because this would necessitate the existence of another divine speech. The dependence of the second speech on a third must be the same as the dependence of the first on a second. This would necessitate an indefinite number of speeches, and that is wrong. The wrongness of this leads to the conclusion that the theory of the created Qur'ān must be wrong". (2)

An example of mere theoretic argument can be found in Baghdādī's book, where it states that God's speech cannot be temporal, because if it is temporal, it can never take place in Him since He can never be a place for a temporal thing. It is also impossible that it should happen in no place, because an accident (ʿarad) can only exist in a subject.

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(1) Qur'ān, 16 : 42.

(2) Ash'arī : Luma', f.10a, 10b.



If His speech takes place in a body, then this body is described as having the qualifications relative to God's speech, such as ordering and forbidding. As it is impossible that anyone other than God should order or forbid with God's words, then it becomes clear that God's speech is eternal and existent in Him<sup>(1)</sup>.

(For full discussion of this question see:

Ash'arī : Ibānah, p.23 - 42.

Ash'arī : Luma', f.10a - 18b.

Shahrastānī : Nihāyat, p.268 - 317.).

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(1) Usūl, p.106,107. This idea is attributed by Shahrastānī to Ash'arī (see, Milāl, p.67.) Baghdādī must have borrowed it from Ash'arī although he did not state this.

(p.47,1.16) Paradise and Hell are created.....

The Qur'an contains many verses describing Paradise and Hell<sup>(1)</sup>. Some Prophetic traditions give more details<sup>(2)</sup>. All the real Muslim sects were agreed on the question of retribution, rewarding the good in Paradise and punishing the bad in Hell. But there were divergences among them on whether Paradise and Hell were existent then or not and on whether, once they are created, they will continue to exist indefinitely or whether there will be an end to them.

Maqdisī wrote an interesting chapter on the eschatological beliefs of the Muslims, in which he included also some of the eschatological beliefs of the non-Muslims<sup>(3)</sup>. On Paradise and Hell, he states, the Muslims were divided into three groups.

(1) The Mu'tazilah, (except Abu'l-Hadhayl and Bishr b. ul-Mu'tamir) who believed that Paradise and Hell were not yet created but would be created on the Day of Resurrection.

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(1) Jules La Beaume: *Le Koran Analyzé*, tr. by Muḥammad Fu'ād Abd ul-Bāqī, p.447-474, Cairo, 1934.

(2) Bukhārī, *Ṣaḥīḥ*, ed. L. Krehl, vol.4, p.246F., Leyden, 1864.

(3) *al-Bad' wa't-tārīkh*, vol.I., Ch.6., p.161F.



(2) An-Najjār<sup>(1)</sup>, who stated that it was possible that they were then created and that they were not and would be created on the Day of Resurrection.

(3) The majority of the Muslims who stated that Paradise and Hell were already created then. These supported their opinion by verses from the Qur'ān stating that Paradise "is prepared for the righteous"<sup>(2)</sup> and that Hell "is prepared for the unbelievers"<sup>(3)</sup> and by other verses and traditions. Such verses and traditions are interpreted differently by opposers of this view<sup>(4)</sup>. Baghdādī also wrote a section on this question entitled "On the creation of Paradise and Hell ". It begins: "In our opinion Paradise and Hell are already created". Then he goes on to give the different views on this matter.<sup>(5)</sup>

Maqdisī also gives a description of Paradise and Hell and the different views of their duration.<sup>(6)</sup>

(p.47.,1.17,18) The people of Paradise shall see Almighty.....

Ash'arī exerts himself to prove this by revealed texts and theoretical arguments. The most important of his proofs are:

(1) An-Najjār meant here is al-Husayn b. Muḥammad an-Najjār. For bib. on him see: Ash'arī, Maqālāt, Index, p.18.

(2) Qur'ān, 3: 133.

(3) Ibid, 3: 131.

(4) Maqdisī, Baḍ',I, 188 - 190.

(5) Uṣūl, p.238.

(6) Baḍ',I, 190 - 203.

(1) The Qur'anic verse: "On that day shall faces beam with light looking towards their lord"<sup>(1)</sup>

(2) That Moses said to God, "O Lord, show Thyself to me so that I may look upon Thee".<sup>(2)</sup> Moses who was a prophet of God and on whom the infallibility of the messengers of God was endowed, could not have asked God what was impossible.

(3) The Qur'anic verse "Goodness itself and an increase of it for those who do good".<sup>(3)</sup> This "increase" is taken by Ash'arī to mean the visibility of God.

(4) The tradition, related by groups of people from various sources on the authority of the Prophet, that he said, "You shall see your Lord as you see the moon on the night it is full and you shall not suffer harm by seeing Him".

(5) It is possible that God may show us any existent being, while it is only impossible to see the non-existent. As God is surely existent, then it is possible that He may show us Himself.

(1) Qur'ān, 75: 22,23.

(2) Qur'ān, 7: 139.

(3) Ibid, 10: 27.



(6) God sees things. If He does so, then, He must see Himself. As He sees Himself He may show us Himself.

(7) The Muslims agreed that in Paradise there are such enjoyments as neither eye has seen, nor ear heard of, nor mortal heart ever imagined; and nothing is more pleasant in Paradise than seeing God.

Then, Ash'arī argues with the Mu'tazilah on the Qur'anic verse, "Their sight does not reach Him but He reaches their sight".<sup>(1)</sup> The Mu'tazilah present this as one of their proofs of the impossibility of seeing God by eye sight, while Ash'arī states that the negation of seeing mentioned in this verse is limited to the present world.<sup>(2)</sup>

(See also:

Ash'arī : Luma', f.27a - 30b.

Shahrastānī : Nihāyat, p.356 - 369; tr. p.115 - 118)

Besides this belief of the Sunnīs in seeing God in the world to come, there were some people who allowed seeing Him in the present world, that He might be met with in the streets or that He was incarnate in some bodies. Many of these

(1) Ibid, 6: 103.

(2) Summarised from: Ash'arī : Ibānah, p.13-23; tr.p.56-65.

exaggerated saying that it was possible to shake hands with Him, to touch Him, and to be visited by Him, and that the faithful could embrace Him in the present world and in the world to come if they so desired.<sup>(1)</sup>

Opposed to these were the Mu<sup>t</sup>azilah, the Khawārij, groups of the Muri'ah and the Zaydiyyah<sup>(2)</sup> and the Imāmī Shī'ah,<sup>(3)</sup> who rejected the possibility of seeing God either in this world or in the world to come.

(p.47,1.19) The torture of the grave.....

About this Ash<sup>'</sup>arī states, "We believe in the punishment of the grave and in Munkar and Nakir, and in their interrogation of those who are buried in their graves<sup>(4)</sup>". He discussed this later in detail and used some Prophetic traditions and Qur'anic verses as proof of this. These traditions are: "Take refuge with God from the punishment of the grave", and "Were it not that you would not bury each other, I would surely ask God to let you hear, of the

(1) Ash<sup>'</sup>arī, Maqālāt, p.213,214.

(2) Ibid, 216.

(3) Ibn Bābawayh al-Qummī, I tiqādāt al-Imāmiyyah, F.1, Brit. Mus. Ms. 19,623.

(4) Ibānah, p.12; tr. p.54.



of the grave, what He has let me hear".<sup>(1)</sup> The Qur'anic verses quoted by Ash'arī here, do not furnish any direct evidence of the punishment of the grave, but they are stated by Ash'arī to imply it.

(See also: Shahrastānī, Nihāyat, p.469. For Munkar and Nakīr see: Wensinck: Article Munkar and Nakīr in E.I.)

The Mu'tazilah and the Khawārij rejected the punishment of the grave. Some people said that God rewards and punishes souls, but that punishment does not reach the bodies while they are in the grave.<sup>(2)</sup>

(p.47.,1.20 - p.48.,1.5) the servants of God are not to be considered unbelievers.....

Ash'arī states, "In our opinion we do not, as the Khawārij do, declare sinners to be infidels and a Muslim is not so declared for committing such sins as fornication, theft, or wine drinking, but we do believe that he who commits any of these mortal sins, such as fornication, theft, or the like, presumptuously declaring it lawful and not acknowledging that it is forbidden, is an infidel".<sup>(3)</sup>

(1) Ibānah, p.91,92; tr.p.132.

(2) Ash'arī, Maqālāt, p.430.

(3) Ibānah, p.10; tr.p.52. See also the discussion of this question in: Ash'arī : Luma', f.67a - 68b.

As to the position of mortal sinners after their death, Ash'arī does not give any definite opinion. He hopes they will reach Paradise, but he fears that they will be punished in Hell. God by the Prophet's intercession will bring forth a people from Hell, after they have been burned to ashes there. On the other hand he is not sure of the admittance of anyone to Paradise except those whom the Prophet attested would be admitted.<sup>(1)</sup> This opinion of the Sunnīs is contrary to the doctrine of "promise and threat" (al-wa'd wa'l-wa'id) held by the Mu'tazilah, in which they declared that God has to reward the good and punish the wicked.<sup>(2)</sup>

(For the Sunnī belief in the intercession of the Prophet in favour of sinners, and the traditions on which it is based, see:

Ash'arī : Ibānah, p.89 - 90; Juwaynī, Irshād, p.223;  
Wensinck: Article Shafā'a in E.I.

For the Sunnī belief in "tawbah", (repentence of sin), the conditions of its validity and its effect on sins committed before it, see: Juwaynī : Irshād, p.226f.)

The Khawārij, (with the exception of the Najadāt), declared that every sinner was an unbeliever who would be

(1) Ibid.

(2) See the arguments of Juwaynī with them on this question in: Irshād, p.216f.



eternally punished.<sup>(1)</sup> They also considered other sects to be unbelievers who would suffer the same punishment.<sup>(2)</sup>

Wāṣil b. Aṭā' started the Mu'tazilī dogma about the mortal sinner. The latter, according to Wāṣil, is neither a believer nor an unbeliever, but is in a state between belief and unbelief.<sup>(3)</sup> If he dies before repenting, he will be punished eternally in Hell, but the degree of punishment which he will suffer will be less than that of an unbeliever<sup>(4)</sup> proper. The Khawārij and the Mu'tazilah have maintained that all devotions and all avoidance of sin are relative to belief.<sup>(5)</sup>

The Murji'ah did not consider deeds as a part of belief. The mortal sinner is a believer in spite of his sin.<sup>(6)</sup>

(p.48.,1.6) the ascent of the Prophet.....

The story of the Isrā' and the Mi'rāj is told by Ibn Ishāq in his biography of the Prophet.<sup>(7)</sup> The Isrā' is

(1) Ash'arī, Maqālāt, p.86.

(2) Baghdādī, Uṣūl, p.242.

(3) Shahrastānī, Milāl, p.33.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Baghdādī, Uṣūl, p.249.

(6) Shahrastānī, Milāl, p.33; Nihāyat, p.471. Khayyāt, Intiṣār, p.165.

(7) Sīrat ur-rasūl, p.263 - 271.

the famous night travel of the Prophet on the Burāq<sup>(1)</sup>, accompanied by the angel Gabriel, from the Mosque of Mecca (al-Masjid ul-ḥarām) to that of Jerusalem (al-Masjid ul-aqṣā). He is said to have returned from this journey on the same night. Traditions differ as to whether the Prophet went in spirit only, on this journey, or whether he travelled in bodily form. The latter was related by Ibn Mas'ūd, and the former is according to the story 'Ā'ishah, the Prophet's wife, who stated that the Prophet's body never disappeared on the night of the Isrā'. Mu'āwiyah used to say, when asked about the Isrā', that it was a true dream which happened to the Prophet. The Qur'ān is in favour of this.<sup>(2)</sup> In the Mosque of Jerusalem, Muḥammad found some of the former Prophets, among whom were Moses and Jesus, waiting for him. They all performed a collective prayer in which Muḥammad acted as Imam. After this comes the story of the Mi'rāj (the ascent). Muḥammad was taken to heaven. A description is given of what he is said to have seen in the skies and of the prophets whom he met there. He ascended from one heaven to another and in each heaven he was welcomed

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(1) A certain animal, which is said to have been between a mule and an ass and which is said to have had two wings in two thighs.

(2) Qur'ān, 17,60.



by angels. After the ascent to the seventh heaven he saw Paradise and then, finally reached God.

(p.48,1.9-10) Fate and destiny, and good and evil.....

Abu'l-Ma'ālī here presents the Sunnīs as believers in predestination; but to justify the punishment of the sinner and the reward of the virtuous, they said that man has choice in his deeds, and that God only creates man's deeds according to the latter's choice, which God, by his eternal knowledge, knows from all eternity.

This is the famous midway position which the Sunnīs have always tried to take since Ash'arī invented his famous and incomprehensible "kasb".

Before Ash'arī, the Muslims split into two groups over this question:

(1) The Jahmiyyah, (also called the Mujbirah) who stated that man is compelled to perform all his actions. Man has no choice whatsoever, and he cannot help anything he may do, exactly as he cannot help the beating of his pulse or an attack of shivering.

(2) The Qadariyyah, (the Mu'tazilah), who asserted the free will of man. Man's deeds, as well as those of animals are of their own creating, and God has nothing to do with them.

Most of the Mu'tazilah also said that God has no power over the deeds of others although it was He Who gave them power to perform such actions.<sup>(1)</sup>

Against the Jahmiyyah, there is the question of retribution. Why does God punish man for actions he is forced to perform? The Qur'ān also contains many verses attesting the free will of man and his responsibility for his deeds.<sup>(2)</sup>

On the other hand the Mu'tazilī doctrine of free will necessitates the existence of creators besides God. How can a creature of God create things which God does not want. This questions God's omnipotence. Some of the Mu'tazilah, as mentioned before, expressly stated that God has no control over the deeds of his creatures. Thus the Sunnīs called the Mu'tazilah the Magians of the community of Islam. They meant by this that the Mu'tazilah, by attributing the creation of man's deeds to him, resembled the Magians who stated Ahriman, (Satan), as the creator of evil besides Yazdān, (God), the creator of good.<sup>(3)</sup> The Qur'ān also contains verses which state the predestination of man's deeds.<sup>(4)</sup>

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(1) See: Baghdādī, Uṣūl, p.134,135.

(2) Eg: Q.41,46; 10,108; 4,111; 17,15; 18,29; 45,15.

(3) A tradition calling the Qadariyyah the Magians of Islam is attributed to the Prophet. See: Ash'arī, Ibānah, p.7,8. Ash'arī also compares here the opinions of the Mu'tazilah on man's creation of his deeds with the Magian doctrine of two creators.

(4) Eg: 14,4; 6,88; 2,213,272; 7,178,186.



Ash'arī tried to solve this question. He invented the "kasb", which, as explained by Shahrāstānī, is a temporary ability which man is endowed with at the time of performing an action. This temporary ability however, has no effect on the creation of the deed, which is wholly created by God.<sup>(1)</sup> This is only a different expression of predestination. In fact Ash'arī and his followers stated their belief in the predestination of man's deeds with less force than the Jahmiyyah. In his "Ibānah", the former states that "not a single person has the capacity to do anything until God causes him to act, and we are not independent of God nor can we pass beyond the range of God's knowledge.

There is no creator save God, and the works of human beings are things created and decreed by God as He has said, 'God has created you and what you make'.<sup>(2)</sup>

(p.49,1.9) the Tablet and the Pen.

Maqdisī in his chapter on Muslim eschatology discusses the Pen and the Tablet. He begins by giving some of the

(1) Shahrastānī, Milal, p.69.

(2) Ibānah, p.9,10; tr., p.50,51.

Qur'anic verses in which they were mentioned<sup>(1)</sup>, then continues, "Most of the commentators state that they are a Tablet and a Pen which God has created according to His will. He inspired the Pen to write what He willed (on the Tablet). He made the Tablet an intermediary between Him and His angels as He made the angels intermediaries between Him and His prophets, and His prophets intermediaries between Him and His creatures. About the Pen and the Tablet no believer in the unity of God disagrees, and there should be no disagreement about them because they are clearly mentioned in the texts of the Qur'ān and the Sunnah. If anyone wonders what is the use of the Tablet and the Pen, it should be said to him that the secrets of the wisdom of God are hidden from His servants except for those which He has revealed to them. What He has hidden from them should be accepted and taken for granted, as He has said, {God blots out or confirms what He wills and with Him is the Mother of the Book'.<sup>(2)</sup> The discussion here is meant for one who believes in God, His angels, His books and His Prophets, as knowledge about these things comes only by

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(1) For the pen see: Qur'an, 96,4; 68,1. For the Tablet see: 85,22.

(2) Qur'ān, 13,39.



being related and through revelation. The Muslims and all the followers of revealed religions have accepted this.

Another commentator said that God, when He willed to create his creatures, knew what was existent and what He was going to create. He made the Pen write it on the Tablet. About this, there are some traditions in the books of Ahl ul-Hadīth. From these, we have accepted and taken for granted what is true. It was said about this Pen that its length equals the distance between the sky and the earth, and that it was created from light. As to the Tablet it is said that it is a preserved tablet whose length equals the distance between the sky and the earth and whose width is equal to the distance between east and west. It is fixed to the Throne and it knocks between the eyes of Isrāfīl, who is the nearest of the angels to the Throne. If God wills to do something in His creation, the Tablet knocks Isrāfīl's forehead. Then Isrāfīl looks at the Tablet and there he sees that which God wanted.....He conveys the order of God to Gabriel or to any angel who may be his follower".<sup>(1)</sup>

Such are the views of those who have taken the Pen and the Tablet to mean an actual pen and a tablet. It must be said here, that the text of the Qur'ān permits of none of

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(1) Maqdisī, Bad', vol. I., p. 161 - 163.

these interpretations. They seem to have been held by ignorant people, since we fail to find them in the books of such enlightened Sunnī theologians as Ash'arī, Juwaynī and Shahrastānī.

Allegorical interpretations of the Pen and the Tablet were put forward by some people such as, "The Pen is the reason and the Tablet is the soul" or "The Tablet is the lower universe and the Pen is the higher universe which affects the lower one". Others said that the Pen is the soul and the Tablet is the body.<sup>(1)</sup>

(p.49.,1.10) the Throne and the Chair.

God's Throne is mentioned in many verses of the Qur'ān<sup>(2)</sup> and His Chair is mentioned in one verse.<sup>(3)</sup> The Throne and the Chair have also been the matter of speculation. The following are some of these theories as given in Maqdisī's history.

(1) Some people said that the Throne of God is like a worldly throne. Many of the anthropomorphists said that it is like a couch for God.

(1) Maqdisī, I,163.

(2) Qur'ān, 7: 32; 9,130; 10,3; 13,2; 17,44; 20,4; 21,22; 23,88; 23,117; 26,60 etc.

(3) Qur'ān, 2,256



(2) But many of the Muslims stated that the Throne is something which God has created as the utmost limit to the knowledge of His servants, and as something around which the angels walk, worshipping and greeting God and asking Him their needs, as people do by greeting the Ka'bah and praying to God in its direction.....The throne cannot be a place for Him, as He is above being borne, limited or encircled. Some people say that the Throne is the kingship. The meaning of "He is firmly established on the Throne"(1) is that He attained the undisputed kingship.(2)

Ash'arī held the opinion that God is seated on the Throne whose place is above heavens, and, he put forward many arguments in favour of this.(3) But this idea was abandoned by his followers who stated the impossibility of God's being seated on the Throne, and rejected the theory that He is in any particular place or direction.(4)

The Chair has been taken by some people to mean an actual chair for God. But others stated it to mean God's knowledge. According to these, the Qur'anic verse

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(1) A phrase which is repeated in many verses of the Qur'an.  
E.g. See: 7,52; 10.3; 13.2; 20.4.

(2) Maqdisī, Bad', vol.I., p.165,166.

(3) See: Ibanah, p.33 - 37; tr. p.85 - 87.

(4) See: Juwaynī, Irshād, p.91f; Ghazālī, al-Iqtisād fī al-  
i'tiqād, p.22f and Fakhr ud-dīn ar-Rāzī, al-Arba'in, p.106f.

"وسع كرسيه السموات والأرض", (His Chair extends over the heavens and the earth),<sup>(1)</sup> means that His knowledge embraces them. A verse in which the chairs are used to mean the learned men, is cited by them.<sup>(2)</sup>

(p.49, l.14-15) They consider right the holding of collective prayers.....

There is no question of the collective prayer being obligatory on Friday and desirable on other occasions. All the Muslims are agreed on this. But the question here is whether or not it is allowed to pray after an impious Imam. The Sunnīs declare it lawful to perform the Friday prayer and all other prayers behind the Imam, whether he is pious or impious.<sup>(3)</sup> They relate that 'Abdullāh b. 'Umar used to pray after al-Ḥajjāj,<sup>(4)</sup> and that many of the distinguished companions of the Prophet did/same after al-Mukhtār, who was accused in his religion and suspected to be an unbeliever.<sup>(5)</sup> Ibn Ḥazm discussed this question and gave sound arguments in favour of the Sunnī opinion.<sup>(6)</sup>

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(1) Qur'an, 2, 256.

(2) Maqdisī, Bad', I, 166, 167.

(3) Ash'arī, Ibānah, p. 12.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Ibn Ḥazm, 4, 176.

(6) Ibid.



Most of the Mu'tazilah declared it unlawful to perform the Friday prayer or any other prayer after an impious Imam.<sup>(1)</sup> Some of the Imāmī Shī'ah and the Khawārij seem to have declared the unlawfulness of holding the Friday collective prayer till the appearance of their awaited Imams.<sup>(2)</sup>

(p.49,1.16-17) They are far from attributing to Him Similarity.....

Some verses of the Qur'ān contain such phrases as "The Merciful is on the throne",<sup>(3)</sup> "God is the light of the heavens and the earth",<sup>(4)</sup> "The face of your Lord will abide"<sup>(5)</sup> "I created with My hands",<sup>(6)</sup> and "She (the ark of Noah) floats under Our eyes".<sup>(7)</sup>

The Mu'tazilah stated that the organs attributed to God in these verses are used metaphorically and have no corporeal

(1) Ash'arī, Maqālāt, p.450,451.

(2) Baghdādī, Farq, 335.

(3) Qur'ān, 20,5.

(4) Ibid, 24,35.

(5) Ibid, 55,27.

(6) Ibid, 38,75.

(7) Ibid, 54,14.

significance. God's hand, according to them is His beneficence, God's eye is His knowledge, and God's face is nothing but God Himself.<sup>(1)</sup>

The early Sunnīs, like Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal and Dāwūd al-Isfahānī, while rejecting anthropomorphism forcibly, accepted these verses as they were, and refrained from explaining them.<sup>(2)</sup> Then came Ash'arī who took the same attitude concerning these verses and stated that God is on the throne, that He has a face, hands and eyes whose natures are not known (bilā kayf).<sup>(3)</sup> But, later, the followers of Ash'arī did not adhere to this opinion, and, Juwaynī explains such verses in the same way as the Mu'tazliyah had done, stating that the hands in connection with God means His ability, the eyes His vision and the face His existence.<sup>(4)</sup>

Some people among the Extremist Shī'ah and Ahl ul-Hadīth derived a literal meaning from these verses, and stated that they eyes, the hands, and the face etc., in connection with God meant real bodily organs.<sup>(5)</sup>

(1) Aḥh'arī, Maqālāt, p.195,218,290,521,522.

(2) Shahrastānī, Milal, p.75,76.

(3) Ibānah, p.8,9; Maqālāt, p.211.

(4) Juwaynī : Irshād, p.88.

(5) Shahrastānī, Milal, 76,77.



(p.49,1.18-25) They have no dispute about the companions of the Prophet.....

This was the attitude of the Sunnīs towards the first four caliphs.<sup>(1)</sup> Connected with it is their doctrine of the Imamate. They held that the Imam was to be chosen by election from among the tribe of Quraysh.<sup>(2)</sup> This is the middle course between the two extreme opinions of the Shī'ah and khawārij. The former declared that the Imamate was, by the Prophet's designation, the right of 'Alī and of his descendants, who inherited it from him, though they held different views as to who was the rightful heir.<sup>(3)</sup>

On the other hand there were the Khawārij who declared that any Muslim, (even an Abassynian slave) was entitled to the Imamate if he were fit for it.<sup>(4)</sup>

Some of the Mu'tazilah declared that the Imamate was an unnecessary thing.<sup>(5)</sup> The Najadāt also are said to have held this view.<sup>(6)</sup>

(1) Ash'arī, Maqālāt, p.294.

(2) Baghdādī, Usūl, p.275.

(3) Ibid, 279,80,85.

(4) Ash'arī, Maqālāt, p.125.

(5) Baghdādī, Usūl, 271

(6) Shahrastānī, Milal, 92.

The qualifications the Sunnīs required in the Imam are being learned in the divine law, being just, pious, and clever in directing the political and administrative affairs. It is also essential to be from the tribe of Quraysh. (1) The Shī'ah add infallibility. (2)

Other political principles advocated by Ash'arī were obedience and loyalty to the ruling Imams whether pious or impious (3). But this opinion does not appear in the later works of the Sunnīs like those of Juwaynī and Shahrastānī.

The Mu'tazilah, the Zaydiyyah, the Khawārij and many of the Murji'ah declared that it was obligatory to revolt against the unjust ruler and to remove him by force, if possible. (4)

The Khawārij and the Zaydiyyah applied this principle. The Mu'tazilah and the Murji'ah did not do so.

The Imāmi Shī'ah did not approve of armed revolts, even at the risk of being killed, till the appearance of their awaited Imām who, only could command them to do so. (5).

(1) Baghādī, Usūl, 277.

(2) Ibid, 277, 78.

(3) Ash'arī, Ibanah, p.12; Maqālāt, p.451, 2.

(4) Ibid, 451.

(5) Ibid, 58, 451.



(For full discussion of the question of the Imamate according to the Sunnīs see:

Ash'arī : Ibānah, 92 - 96; Luma', f.70b - 73a.

Juwaynī : Irshād, 231f.

Baghdādī: Uṣūl, 270 294.

Shahrastānī : Nihāyat ul-iqdām, p.478f.)

(p.50 - 52) The followers of the Traditions and the followers of Personal opinion:

The sects of the Sunnīs, mentioned by our author, are with the exception of Ash'arī, juristic sects. On the questions of theology they do not have much to say. It is true that Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal entered into some theological controversies but it can be said that he was led into them rather than entered them freely. He played a negative part in these controversies. For this reason Shahrastānī calls them "Ahl ul-Furū' (1), (those who dealt with the branches in contrast with "Ahl ul-Uṣūl" who dealt with the fundamentals). The main differences among these Sunnī schools of jurisprudence rest on the principles from which the law is to<sup>be</sup> deduced. The two roots on which they greatly disagreed were the traditions and analogy. Abū Ḥanīfah,

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(1) Shahrastānī, Milal, p.153.

on the one hand, advocated analogy from the laws given in the Qur'an, and was in favour of speculative legislation. On the other hand there were the Jurists who considered it unlawful to abandon a prophetic tradition in favour of *ijtihād* and analogy. Thus Abū Ḥanīfah and his followers were called "Aṣḥāb ur-Ra'y" (followers of personal opinion) and the other side were called "Aṣḥāb ul-Ḥadīth" (the traditionalists). It must be said that Aṣḥāb ur-Ra'y never abandoned the traditions altogether, but they only accepted what they considered to be authentic from them. The conditions they laid down for the authenticity of a tradition were very strict, and practically ruled out the majority of them. At the same time the traditionalists more or less accepted the application of *ijtihād*. Mālik b. Anas accepted some sort of personal opinion which he called "*istiṣlāḥ*", (public advantage) and which resembles the "*istiḥsān*" of Abū Ḥanīfah. Shāfi'ī accepted *ijtihād* and analogy and laid down concrete rules for the use of them viz. in the absence of a tradition on the specified case. He rejected "*istiḥsān*". Thus he was considered as an intermediary between independent legal investigation and traditionalism. Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal minimised *ijtihād* and analogy and Dawūd al-Isfahānī rejected them altogether. He asserted that



laws can only be derived from the Qur'ān and the traditions taken by their literal meanings.

(For further information see:

Macdonald, D.B.: Development of Muslim theology  
p.65 - 115., New York, 1903.

Articles "Fikḥ", "Abu Ḥanīfah", "Mālīk b. Anas"  
"Shafī'ī", "Aḥmad b. Ḥanbal", "Dāwūd b. Khalaf"  
and "Zāhiriyyah" in E.I.

Brockelmann: Gesch. Arab.Lit., vol.I., p.176f;  
Suppl. I, 284f.)

(P.50.,1.2) The Dawūdīs:

Dāwūd b. 'Alī al-Isfahānī was born about 200 A.H. and died about 270 A.H. None of his writings, a list of which is given by Ibn un-Nadīm,<sup>(1)</sup> survived. The most distinguished scholar of the Zāhirī school, as far as we know, is 'Alī b. Aḥmad, called Ibn Ḥazm, the Spanish Arab theologist. He adhered to the Zāhirī principles and wrote a treatise entitled "Ibṭāl al-Qiyās wa'r-ra'y wa'l-istiḥsān wa t-taqlīd wa't-ta'līl (Ms. Gotha, Pertsch, Verz., No.460.)" which Goldzieher (die Zahiriten, Leipzig, 1884) was the first to study thoroughly. He expressed this in his compendium of law which will be mentioned below.<sup>(2)</sup>

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(1) al-Fihrist, I,216,17.

(2) Ibn Ḥazm: al-Muḥallā, I,50f.

Ibn Ḥazm left us a complete Zāhirī system of law in his book of al-Muḥallā.<sup>(1)</sup> In it he deduces laws directly from the Qur'ān and the traditions, and mentions in addition to his own opinion, the opinions of other jurists like Abū Ḥanīfah, ash-Shāfi'ī, Mālik b. Anas, Ibn Ḥanbal and Dāwūd al-Iṣṣāḥānī, and tries to refute them whenever they differ from his own.

In his theological writings he is still an adherent of the Zāhirī principles. In his book "al-Fiṣal fi'l-milal wa'l-adyān wa'n-niḥal", he tries to form a theology based on them. He seems also to have tried to challenge, with his Zāhirī theology, the Bāṭinī teachings of the Ismā'īlīs<sup>(2)</sup>

(p.50.,1.22) the Imam of Irāq.....

This seems to be a mistake by the scribe. Mālik b. Anas († 179) was the imam of Ḥijāz and not of Irāq. The centre of his activities was Madīnah.

(p.51.,1.3) They eat the flesh of a domestic donkey.....

It was related, by some of the companions of the Prophet, that the latter forbade them to eat the flesh of a domestic

(1) Eleven vol., published in Cairo, 1347 - 1352 A.H.

(2) Ibn Ḥazm: Fiṣal, II,116.



donkey in the year of Khaybar (7 A.H.).<sup>(1)</sup> On the basis of these traditions the jurists of Islam considered it unlawful to eat it. The flesh of a wild donkey was not forbidden. Contrary to our author's report, Mālik, as well as Abū Ḥanīfah and Shāfi'ī, considered it unlawful to eat the flesh of a domestic donkey, and Mālik alone went beyond other jurists by stating that the flesh of a wild donkey becomes forbidden if such donkey becomes tame.<sup>(2)</sup>

(p.51.,1.4) sodomy.....

In the Mudawwanah, which is the most comprehensive compendium of the Mālikī law, I did not find anything like this attributed to Mālik. But it is related by Ṭabarī that Mālik allowed

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. This, according to Ṭabarī, is forbidden by Shāfi'ī and Abū Ḥanīfah.<sup>(3)</sup> Maqdisī in a vague statement, seems to tell us that the Mālikīs allow this.<sup>(4)</sup> Murtazā Rāzī accuses Mālik of allowing sodomy with one's slave boy,<sup>(5)</sup> but this is an unfounded accusation.

(1) Ibn Ishāq, Sirat ur-rasūl, 758.

(2) Utaqī: al-Mudawwanah, III, 64; Ibn Ḥazm: al-Muḥalla, 7, 406.

(3) Ṭabarī, Ikhtilāf al-fuqahā', p.124, 125.

(4) al-Bad' wa 't-tārīkh, vol.5., p.149.

(5) Tabṣirat ul-awāmm, p.270.

(p.51.,1.7) He (Ibn Ḥanbal) was an old man.....

That Ibn Ḥanbal was an old man who lived to see Shāfi'ī is incorrect. Shāfi'ī was born in 150 A.H. Ibn Ḥanbal was born in 164 A.H. The former died in 205 and the latter died in 241 A.H. Ibn Ḥanbal was a follower of Shāfi'ī and as Macdonald states, "He never dreamed of forming a school, least of all in opposition to his master ash-Shāfi'ī".<sup>(1)</sup> As-Subkī considered him a Shāfi'ite and gave his biography in his "Ṭabaqāt ash-Shāfi'iyyah".

(p.51.,1.18) (Abū Ḥanīfah) compiled books on jurisprudence:

No book on Fiqh (statutes of law) written by Abū Ḥanīfah reached us, but, some texts dealing with the fundamentals of religion are attributed to him. These texts entitled "al-Fiqh al-Akbar" and "Wasiyyat Abū Ḥanīfah" were published in India (Hyderabad, 1321 A.H.) They were studied thoroughly by Wensinck in his "Muslim Creed".<sup>(2)</sup> The latter work is based on them.

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(1) Development of Muslim theology, p.110,111.

(2) p.102 - 147.



(p.55-57) The doctrine of the Shī'īs.

In what he called the doctrine of the Shī'ah our author was mostly concerned with the doctrine of the Twelver Shī'ah. There is no such set of rules on which all the groups of the Shī'ah can be said to have agreed. Judicial and ritual questions were given prominence in this account.

The Shī'ī Fiqh differed from that of the Sunnīs because the Shī'ah rejected anything which was not related on the authority of 'Alī or on that of any of their Imams. This rule has been observed very carefully even by Zayd b. 'Alī, the founder of the Zaydiyyah, the moderate Shī'ī sect. In the law book related from him<sup>(1)</sup> one can hardly find a tradition related on the authority of a Sunnī. The sayings and deeds of the Imams were considered by the Shī'ah as sources for legislation in the same way as the sunnah of the Prophet. A look at their greatest extant works,<sup>(2)</sup> which deal with their theological, judicial and ritual beliefs, proves this. Everything is supported by traditions related after the Imams or on their authority after the Prophet.

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(1) Zayd b. 'Alī: Corpus Juris, Milano, 1919.

(2) See below.

The "Kāfī" of Muhammad b. Ya'qūb al-Kulīnī is an example of this. Another example is a work by Muhammad b. Bābawayh al-Qummī, entitled "'Ilal ash-sharā'i wa'l ahkām" <sup>(1)</sup> (the causes of laws and judgements). In a work devoted to causes of laws one expects some rational reasoning, but after examining the work one is struck by the fact that the majority of his "'ilal" are traditions related after their Imams. That the Shī'ah considered the traditions of their Imams to be sources for legislation is but natural, after they have considered them to be infallible.

The Twelver Shī'ah rejected ijtihād and analogy also until a comparatively late date. <sup>(2)</sup> Truly, their acceptance of the deeds and sayings of their Imams, (whom they considered infallible and inspired by God) constituted some sort of acceptance of ijtihād since many of those Imams gave judgements according to their ijtihād. But the number of Imams was limited, and not all of them were learned. After ar-Ridā, the eighth Imam, there seems to have been no serious contribution to the teachings of the Twelver Shī'ah by the Imams as the

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(1) Brit. Mus. Ms., Add., 23, 261.

(2) See below.



ninth, tenth, and eleventh of them died at a comparatively early age, while the twelfth, the Mahdī, disappeared when he was five years old, as they say. This can be proved by the rarity of the traditions related from them in Kulīnī's book. This narrowness of the sources of legislation might have been one of the reasons which induced them to add ijtihād and analogy to their sources, although at a comparatively late date as will be discussed below. On the other hand the Sunnīs used ijtihād and qiyās at an early stage, (2nd. cent. A.H.), but they abandoned it later stating that "the gate of endeavour" was closed.<sup>(1)</sup>

In any case, there were differences between the Shī'ah and the Sunnah on some questions of Fiqh. Ibn ul-Jawzī related some of the juristic and ritual views which were peculiar to the Imāmiyyah and which he considered as innovations "bida'"<sup>(2)</sup> Murtazā Rāzī also mentions some of these views, and defends them from the Shī'ī side.<sup>(3)</sup>

(1) Browne: Persian Literature in Modern Times, p.353, Cambridge, 1924.

(2) Ibn al-Jawzī: Naqd al-'ilm wa'l-'ulamā', p.105, Cairo, 1340.

(3) Tabṣirat ul-'awāmm, p.103,104, 268-272.

(p.55., 1.1-18) 'Alī...entitled to the Imamate.....

The doctrine of the Imamate is the central point in the Shī'ī beliefs. They held that 'Alī was the only one entitled to the Imamate after the Prophet, and that he was the one designated by the Prophet. Their proofs were the two traditions mentioned by our author. These traditions were challenged by the Sunnīs, and arguments against them can be found in the works of Juwaynī<sup>(1)</sup> and Shahrastānī<sup>(2)</sup>. Besides their criticism of these traditions they related traditions of the same nature about Abū Bakr. They did not assert the authenticity of these traditions but to them, the traditions related about 'Alī were not more authentic than these.<sup>(3)</sup>

The Shī'ah believe their Imams to be supernatural beings. The Imam is inspired by God, although not exactly in the same way as a prophet.<sup>(4)</sup> The Imam is the proof of God to His creatures and by whom that which is right is distinguished from that which is wrong. The earth would be destroyed if

(1) al-Irshād, p.238f.

(2) Nihāyat ul-iqdām, p.493f.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Kulīnī: Usūl ul-Kāfī, p.82, Tehran? 1864.



it were left without an Imam. If two men only were left on the earth, one of them must be the Imam. To know God is to believe in Him and in His Prophet; it is also to support (Ali and his descendants as Imams, and to abandon their enemies. (1) No-one is a believer unless he knows God, His Prophet, and all the Imams, including the Imam of his time. (2) Without having an Imam no devotion to God is acceptable. Anyone who does not follow a manifest just Imam appointed by God, is a lost and greatly erring person, and if he dies in this state he dies as an unbeliever or a hypocrite. (3) As-Sādiq says, "No-one will be introduced into Paradise except he who recognises us and he whom we recognise, and no-one will go to Hell except he who denies us and whom we deny". (4) Al-Bāqir says, "Love for us is belief and hatred for us is unbelief". (5) Obedience to the Imams is a duty. God says, "Obey God, obey the Prophet and those charged with authority among you". (6) The Imams

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(1) Ibid, 83,84.

(2) Ibid, 85.

(3) Ibid, 86.

(4) Ibid, 87.

(5) Ibid, 88.

(6) Qur'ān, 4,59.

are the witnesses of God to His creatures.<sup>(1)</sup> The Imams are the right guides, the agents for carrying out the commands of God and the treasurers of God's knowledge.<sup>(2)</sup> The Imams are the vicegerents of God on His earth and the gates through which He is approached.<sup>(3)</sup> God made the Imams the supports of this earth, without which it would be destroyed with its inhabitants, and He made them sound proof (of Him) for those who are above the earth and those who are below it.<sup>(4)</sup> In a long statement related after ar-Riḍā<sup>(5)</sup> on the Imams and the Imamate he says ".....The Imam is like the shining sun which fills the world with its light while it is on the horizon, beyond reach..... the Imam is one who is pure from sins, free from defects, whose characteristic is knowledge and who is described with wisdom.....etc".<sup>(6)</sup>

The above mentioned statements are a few of the beliefs of the Shī'ah concerning their Imams, paraphrased mostly from

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(1) Kulīnī, Usūl ul-Kāfī, 90.

(2) Ibid, 91.

(3) Ibid, 92.

(4) Ibid, 93.

(5) Ibid, 95f.

(6) Ibid, 96.



the sayings of the Imams themselves. For more information reference should be made to the great section on the Imamate in Kulīnī's book,<sup>(1)</sup> and to the treatise of Ibn Bābawayh on the beliefs of the Imāmiyyah.<sup>(2)</sup>

Such exaggerations about the Imams are reflected in the poetry of the Shī'ah. Ibn Hānī' al-Andalusī is a very clear example of this.

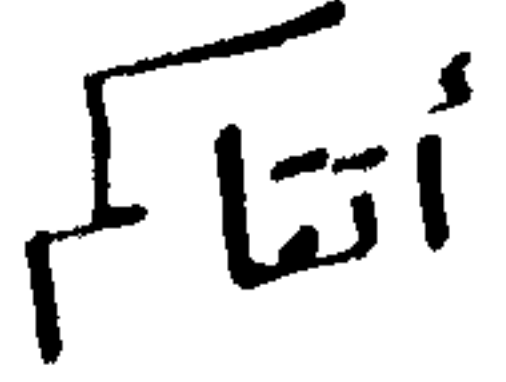
(p.55, l.19) Taqiyyah.

"Taqiyyah" is one of the very important political principles of the Shī'ah. Ibn Bābawayh states that it is obligatory, and that abandoning it is like abandoning prayer. It is only when al-Qā'im, (the awaited Mahdī), appears, that abandoning "Taqiyyah" will be permissible. But the one who gives up "Taqiyyah" before al-Qā'im appears is a person who has given up the religion of God and the religion of the Imāmiyyah, and disobeyed God, His Prophet and the Imams. As-Sadiq, when asked to explain the Qur'anic verse "إِنَّ أَكْرَمَكُمْ عِنْدَ اللَّهِ أَتْقَاهُمْ" (Verily the noblest among you, in the sight of God, is the most pious),<sup>(3)</sup> said that

(1) Usūl ul-Kāfī, kitāb ul-hujjah, p.77-295.

(2) Ibn Bābawayh al-Qummī, I'tiqādāt al-imāmiyyah, F.21b-22b.

(3) Qur'an, 49,13.

"  " means the one who knows "taqiyyah" best among you. God Almighty allowed us to appear as friends of the unbelievers in the state of "taqiyyah". He says, 'Let not believers take disbelievers for their friends in preference to believers. Who so doeth that hath no connection with God unless (it be) that ye but guard yourselves against them, for fear of being harmed.' (1) Other verses of the Qur'an and sayings of as-Sādiq are presented as proofs that "taqiyyah" is a duty which has to be observed as a precautionary measure. (2)

(p.55.,1.21) Wiping the covered feet.....

This is a ritual question which is a subject of difference among the Sunnīs and the Shi'īs. The Sunnīs permit the wiping of the covered feet as a substitute for washing them when preparing for prayer, whether one is settled or on travel. In the case of being settled, one is allowed to do this for one day and in the case of travel it is permissible for three days. After this he has to take off his sandals and wash his feet when preparing for

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(1) Qur'ān, 3,27.

(2) See the chapter on taqiyyah in: Ibn Bābawayh al-Qummi: I'tiqādat al-imamiyyah, Brit.Mus.Ms. 19,623.f.26a; tr. Asaf A.A. Fyzee: A Shi'ite creed, p.110f., Oxford, London etc., 1942.



prayers. Certain things, such as being in a state of major impurity, (caused, for example, by matrimonial intercourse), render this practice impermissible and one has then to take off his sandals and wash himself.

(For all the details about this practice, given by the Sunnīs, see:

(Uṭṭaqī : al-Mudawwanah al-kubrā, vol.I., 39-42.

Shāfiʿī : al-Umm, vol.I., 27-31, Cairo, 1325.

Ibn Ḥazm: al-Muḥallā, vol.II., 80 115.)

The Imāmī Shīʿah do not allow this practice at all.

They present the Qurʾānic verse mentioned by our author and some traditions related on the authority of ʿAlī, Ibn ʿAbbās and some of their Imams, as proofs of this.<sup>(1)</sup> Aṣ-Ṣādiq is reported to have said that he would not do it even in the way of "taqiyyah".<sup>(2)</sup> The Zaydīs also do not allow it.<sup>(3)</sup>

(p.56.,1.2) Temporary marriages are considered lawful.

The Shīʿah allow contract marriage. They present as a proof of this the Qurʾānic verses "

فَاَسْتَحْتَمَ بِهِ مَنْزِلَةً فَاَنْتَوَيْتُمْ اُجُورَھِمْ فَرِيضَةً

(1) See the discussion in: Murtazā Rāzī, Tafsīrat ul-ʿawāmm, 105,106.

(2) Kulīnī, Furūʿ ul-kāfi, vol.I. p.17. Lucknow, 1885-86.

(3) Zaid b. ʿAlī: Corpus Juris, Milano, 1919.

”وَدُّ جُنَاحُ عَلَيْكُمْ فِيمَا تَرْضَيْتُمْ بِهِ مِنْهُ بَعْدَ الْفَرِيضَةِ” and

Many statements asserting its legality are related after the Imams of the Shī‘ah.<sup>(1)</sup> The Sunnīs also related that it was legal during the lifetime of the Prophet and that a number of his companions continued to consider it legal after his death.<sup>(2)</sup> Ibn ‘Umar considered it an illegal practice.<sup>(3)</sup> In any case the Sunnīs stated that it was abrogated by the Prophet, and all the Sunnī jurists considered it forbidden. Zayd b. ‘Alī also is reported to have related a tradition in which it is stated that the Prophet forbade it in the year of Khaybar.<sup>(4)</sup>

(For the views of the Sunnīs on this question see:

Shāfi‘ī : al-Umm, vol.7,161.

‘Utaqī : al-Mudawwanah, vol.4,46.

Ibn Ḥazm : al-Muḥallā, vol.9,519.

The Shī‘ah made some rules to regulate it and these will now be briefly summarised:

The position of a woman married in this way is like that of a slave girl, and, she is not included in the four women

(1) Kulīnī: Furu‘ul-Kāfi, p.190f, vol.II,pt.I.

(2) Ibn Ḥazm, al-Muḥallā, vol.9,519f.

(3) Ibid, p.520.

(4) Zaid b. ‘Alī: Corpus Juris, p.197, Milano, 1919.



whom one is entitled to marry.<sup>(1)</sup> It is desirable not to do it where possible<sup>(2)</sup> (i.e., if one can afford to marry otherwise). A man is not allowed to do it except with a good woman.<sup>(3)</sup> Two conditions are necessary for its validity: the appointment of a certain period for its duration, and the donation of due recompence to the woman.<sup>(4)</sup> Such a marriage may give the man and woman concerned, the right to inherit from each other should the death of one of them occur during the marriage period, unless it should be stipulated otherwise.<sup>(5)</sup>

After separation a woman has to keep away from men for 45 days or for one period of menstruation.<sup>(6)</sup> If she proves to be pregnant the child that results is to be considered as the child of the man with whom she was under contract of marriage.<sup>(7)</sup>

(See also:

Ibn Bābawayh al-Qummī: *Man la yahdurhu'l-faqih*, vol.4, 148. Lucknow, 1889 - 90).

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(1) Kulīnī: *Furū'ul-kāfī*, p.191, Vol.II,pt.1.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid, 192. It seems that they meant by this rule to prevent a woman from becoming a legalised prostitute living in this sort of way.

(4) Ibid, 193.

(5) Ibid, 197.

(6) Ibid, 193.

(7) Ibid, 198.

(p.56.,1.3) They do not put one hand over the other when praying.....

(For a complete description of how to perform a prayer according to the Shī'ah see:

Kulīnī : Furū' ul-kāfī, I, 197.

Ibn Bābawayh al-Qummī, Man la yahdurhu'l-faqīh, I, 98f.)

Holding the arms down when standing up during prayer is a Shī'ī practice, and is opposed to the Sunnī practice of putting one hand on the other.<sup>(1)</sup> Some of the Sunnīs must have considered this Shī'ī habit as an innovation (bid'ah). Murtazā Rāzī argues in favour of the Shī'ī custom by stating that some of the Sunnīs (Wahb b. Munabbih and Mālik), related a tradition after the Prophet in which the latter states that he was allowed to hold the arms down when performing a prayer on the night of the ascent. According to him the Mālikīs did this, and Māwardī, a great Shāfi'ite allowed it in one of his books.<sup>(2)</sup>

(p.56.,1.4-6) It is not lawful to touch the earth.....

A word must be missing from the text here. It must have been "وجه غمار [جزء] بر خاك....". "They do not allow

(1) E.g. See: Ghazālī, al-Wajīz, p.41. Cairo, 1316.

(2) Tabṣirat ul-awāmm, p.104.



prostrating themselves in prayers on anything other than earth or that which grows from it".

Kulīnī devoted a chapter to things on which it is permissible to prostrate themselves and things on which it is not<sup>(1)</sup> and so did Qummī.<sup>(2)</sup> From the traditions related after their Imams, it can be said that they considered it unlawful to prostrate themselves on anything except on the earth and its plants, other than those used for food and clothing. The reasons for this, as related after aṣ-Ṣādiq, is that the lovers of this world are enslaved by food and clothes. Thus, they should not be prostrated on by one who does this in worship of God. Furthermore, prostration on earth is more expressive of humility to God and subjection to Him.<sup>(3)</sup>

(p.56.,l.7) they cite their "Qunūt".....

Aṣ-Ṣādiq, asked about the "qunūt" by a certain (Abd ur-Rahmān b. ul-Hajjāj said that it is to be said in all the prayers whether obligatory or supererogatory.<sup>(4)</sup>

(1) Furū( ul-kāfi, vol.I, p.195f.

(2) Man lā yaḥḍuru(l-faqih, vol.I., p186f.

(3) Ibid, p.87,88.

(4) Kulīnī: Furū( ul-kāfi, vol.I, 201.

Anyone who gives it up intentionally wastes his prayers.<sup>(1)</sup>

It is to be said before inclining in the second "rak'ah".

No special formula of "qunūt" is prescribed. The least one may say is "Glory be to God" five times.<sup>(2)</sup> If anyone forgets to say it in his prayer, then remembers it in the street, he, as directed by al-Bāqir, should take the direction of the "qiblah" and say it then.<sup>(3)</sup>

But according to the Sunnīs, the qunūt is not obligatory. It is considered by them as a good supererogatory deed.<sup>(4)</sup>

(p.56.,1.16) the call to prayer.....

The formula of the call to prayer, as related after aṣ-Ṣādiq is like that of the Sunnīs, with the addition of "Come to the best of works", said twice.<sup>(5)</sup> Other traditions connected with the call to prayer are to be found in the sections on "adhān and iqāmah".

(1) Ibid.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ibn Ḥazm, al-Muḥallā, vol.4, p.138f.

(5) Qummi: Manṣūf yahḍurhu'l-faqīh, I, 93.



(See:

Kulīnī : Furu' ul-kāfī, I, 174f.

Qummi : Man lā yaḥḍuruhu'l-faqīh, I, 90f).

The phrase "Come to the best of all works" is also added by the Zaydīs.<sup>(1)</sup>

(p.56., 1.17) (praying in) silk clothes:

The Shī'ah consider it unlawful to wear silk clothes when performing their prayers.<sup>(2)</sup> Other types of clothes are equally forbidden. Some of the Sunnīs also hold the same opinion as the Shī'īs concerning silk dresses.<sup>(3)</sup>

(For the whole question according the Shī'ah see:

Kulīnī : Furu' ul-kāfī, vol.I, 234f.

Qummi : Man lā yaḥḍurhu'l-faqīh, vol.I, 80f).

(p.57, 1.1-2) Washing themselves on Friday:

This practice is held by the Shī'ah as an obligatory "sunnah" (Prophetic custom). Many traditions stating this are related after the Imams. In one of them aṣ-Ṣādiq says, "Each one of you should look well on Friday. He should

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(1) Zayd b. 'Alī, Corpus Juris, p.22, Milano, 1919.

(2) Kulīnī: Furū' ul-kāfī, vol.I, p.236.

(3) Ibn Ḥazm: al-Muḥallā, vol.4, p.39f.

have a bath, put on himself some perfumes, comb his beard, wear the best of his clothes and thus get ready for the performance of the Friday collective prayer. He should look quiet and serious on that day, worship God properly, and do good as much as he can.....".<sup>(1)</sup>

Observances to be followed when bathing in a public bath, a river, or any public place are also advocated in some traditions.

(For details see:

Kulīnī : Furū' ul-kāfī, I, 243f.

Qummī : Man lā yaḥḍurhu'l-faqīh, I, 32f.)

In fact, the Friday bath is as important to the Sunnīs as it is to the Shī'īs. On this see:

Ibn Ḥazm : al-Muḥallā, II, 19 - 22.

(p.57, l.2-3) they do not cite....the Qur'ān after the Imam.

See: Qummī ; (Ilal ash-sharā'i' wa'l-ahkām.

F.127b. Brit.Mus.Ms.23,261.

Kulīnī : Furū' ul-kāfī, I, 182 - 185.

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(1) Kulīnī ; Furū' ul-kāfī, I, 245.



(p.57,1.5-8) They raise their hands.....

Reference should be made here again to the description of how to perform a prayer mentioned before:

Kulīnī : Furū' ul-kāfī, I, 197

Qummi : Man lā yahdurhu'l-faqīh, I, 98f.

(p.57,1.8-9) They reject altogether ijtihād and analogy:

The Twelver Shī'ah, till the time of our author and even after him, rejected ijtihād and analogy as a source of legislation. On the Sunnī side, Abū Ḥanīfah († 150 A.H) and his disciples went to great lengths in applying ijtihād and analogy for deducing laws, and Shāfi'ī canonized their application in his "Risālah" on "Uṣūl ul-fiqh" (sources of jurisprudence). The Zaydī Shī'ah accepted ijtihād and analogy as sources for legislation although we are told by Ash'arī that a group of them rejected these.<sup>(1)</sup> Some Zaydī Mss. on the "Uṣūl ul-fiqh" reached us, and a number of them are preserved in the British Museum. These Mss. are written by comparatively late authors.<sup>(2)</sup>

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(1) Maqālāt, p.74.

(2) E.g.: al-Mansūr b. Izz al-Dīn (c.700): al-Muḍī' al-Muqni' (...., Brit, Mus, Ms. On.3721. See also the classified index of the Brit. Mus and Brockelmann: G.A.L., I, 197, Sup. I, 313.

But if we follow in the available authorities of the Twelver Shī'īs their attitude towards ijtihād and analogy we find they adopt a hostile attitude. Kulīnī devoted a chapter of his work to the refutation of opinion and analogy in which many traditions on the condemnation of "ra'y" and "qiyās" are related after the Imams.<sup>(1)</sup> Abū Hanīfah is cursed on many occasions. Ar-Riḍā, one of their learned Imams, forbade them to make analogy even from the judgements given by the Imams.<sup>(2)</sup> Everything connected with religion should be derived from the Qur'ān or the traditions, whether related after the Prophet or the Imams. Consensus, which was accepted by the Sunnīs as a source of legislation, although with defferent conceptions of it among their different schools and which was also accepted by the Zaydīs,<sup>(3)</sup> was rejected by the twelver Shī'ah.<sup>(4)</sup>

As late as the first half of the 7th Century A.H., we find a vehement attack by the Imamī writer Murtazā Rāzī on Abū Hanīfah on account of the latter's application of ijtihād and analogy. He also attacked these principles in themselves.<sup>(5)</sup>

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(1) Uṣul u-kāfī, p.26f.

(2) Ibid, 27, 28.

(3) al-Mansūr b. Izz al-Dīn: al-Muḍī' al-muqni'....f.3b. Brit. Mus. Ms. Or. 3721.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Tabṣirat ul-awāmm, p.190f.



Still, in the time of Ibn Taymiyah († 728 A.H.) the Sunnīs are attacked by an Imamī writer for their application of ijtihād and analogy. (Minhāj as-sunnah, II, 89).

But we are told that the twelver Shī'ah have introduced ijtihād and analogy as sources of legislation in modern times. Browne states that "one of the chief results of the Shī'ah revival effected by the Ṣafawī dynasty<sup>(1)</sup> was the establishment of the powerful hierarchy of the Mujtahids and the Mullās, often, but not accurately described by European writers, as the clergy."<sup>(2)</sup> "With the introduction of ijtihād and analogy into Shī'ism a position arose in Persia between the Traditionalists and the advocates of speculative legislation similar to that which arose between the Sunnī "Aṣḥāb ur-Ra'y" and "Aṣḥāb ul-Ḥadīth" in the early centuries of the hijrah. On this, Browne states, "We must also distinguish between the prevalent Uṣūlī and the once important but now negligible Akhbārī school, between whom bitter enmity subsisted. The former, as their name implies, follow the general "principles" (uṣūl) deducible from the Qur'ān and accredited

(1) This dynasty rose in Persia at the beginning of the 16th century. A.D.

(2) E. Browne: Persian Literature in Modern Times, p.353. Cambridge, 1924.

traditions, and employ analogy in arriving at their conclusions. The latter follow the traditions (akhbār) only, and repudiate analogical reasoning".<sup>(1)</sup>

(p.57, l.10-11) they correspond with the Muṭazilīs.....

Compare the conceptions of God according to the Shī'ah given by Ibn Bābawayh al-Qummī<sup>(2)</sup> with the conception of God according to the Muṭazilah, given by Ash'arī.<sup>(3)</sup> They are practically the same, although there is some difference of expression between the two authors. Ash'arī, after giving his account of the conception of God according to the Muṭazilah, says that the Khawārij, groups of the Murji'ah and groups of the Shī'ah, shared this doctrine with them.<sup>(4)</sup>

(For the beliefs of the Twelver Shī'ah in God as based on traditions related after their Imams see: Kulīnī: Uṣūl ul-kāfī, p.34 - 74 "kitāb at-tawhīd")

Ash'arī, after discussing the sects of the Rāfidah, (the Imāmī Shī'ah), mentions some of the theological questions

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(1) Ibid, 374.

(2) Qummī: I'tiqādāt, f.1, 2.

(3) Maqālāt, 155, 6.

(4) Ibid, 156.



on which they differed.<sup>(1)</sup> Concerning the person of God he attributes to five groups of them some corporeal beliefs,<sup>(2)</sup> but he states that there was a later group of them who held the same beliefs in God as the Mu'tazilah and the Khawārij.<sup>(3)</sup>

(p.57,1.13) the doctrine of the Created Qur'ān:

Ash'arī states that the Mu'tazilah, the Khawārij, the Zaydiyyah, the Murji'ah and many of the Rāfiḍah, (the Imāmī Shī'ah), said that the Qur'ān is the word of God which is created by Him.<sup>(4)</sup>

In his chapter on the Rāfiḍah, he states that they were divided into two groups on this question, the first of whom were Hishām b. ul-Hakam and his followers, who would not say that the Qur'ān is created,<sup>(5)</sup> and the second who were some of the later Rāfiḍah, held the same theory as the Mu'tazilah and the Khawārij.

That the doctrine of the created Qur'ān was not a commonly accepted dogma among the Imāmī Shī'ah can be proved by its

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(1) Ibid, 31f.

(2) Ibid, 31-34.

(3) Ibid, 35.

(4) Ibid, 582.

(5) For their opinions see: Ibid, 40.

absence from the theological treatise of Qummī. While he devotes some chapters to the Qur'ān,<sup>(1)</sup> the doctrine of its being created or uncreated is never mentioned by him.

(p.57,1.14) the attributes of God.....

Qummī differentiates between the attributes of essence and those of action in the same way as the Mu'tazilāh, and states that the attributes of action are temporal and that it is not permissible to say that God is eternally qualified by them.

(See:

Qummī : I'tiqādāt, f3a, tr., p.30

Kulīnī : Uṣūl ul-kāfī, p.49 - 51.)

In any case, this view of the attributes of God does not seem to have been commonly accepted among the Imāmī Shī'ah since Ash'arī attributes different views to certain groups of them.<sup>(2)</sup>

(p.57,1.15) the power of man to act:

"Istitā'ah", or the power of man to act, is closely connected with the question of freedom and predestination.

(1) Qummī: I'tiqādāt, tr., p.82 - 89.

(2) Maqālāt, 36 - 39.

Has man power to create his deeds or are they created by God?

In the traditions related by the Imāmī Shī'ah after the Prophet and the Imams, neither the belief in freedom nor predestination was taught, but a state intermediate between the two. God is too merciful to force His creatures to commit sins and then punish them for their deeds, and He is too powerful to will something which will not take place.<sup>(1)</sup> God knows what man wants to do and creates in him power to act in time of action.<sup>(2)</sup>

This is far from the Mu'tazilī doctrine of man's freedom and his power to create his deeds. But, in any case, this latter doctrine was held by that group of the Imāmī Shī'ah who combined the doctrine of the Imamate with the theories of the Mu'tazilah,<sup>(3)</sup> and to whom reference has been made on several occasions by Ash'arī.<sup>(4)</sup>

(p.57, l.16] the fate of the mortal sinner:

On this Qummī says, "He whom God has threatened with a punishment may have an alternative. If He punishes him, it

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(1) Kulīnī: Uṣūl-kāfī, p.73.

(2) Ibid, 74. See also: Qummī, I'tiqādāt, f5b. Brit. Mus. Ms. 19623; tr.p.40, 41.

(3) Maqālāt, 41.

(4) Ibid, 35, 40, 41, 42, 45, 46, 47, 48, 56 etc.



is His justice; but if He forgives him, it is His generosity".<sup>(1)</sup> The Shī'ah believe in intercession on behalf of the sinners. Those entitled to intercede are the prophets, the saints, the awṣiyā', the believers and the angels.<sup>(2)</sup>

This is opposed to the doctrine of "threat and promise" held by the Mu'tazilah, in which they stated that God's threat and promise have to be fulfilled. No intercession can save a mortal sinner from being eternally punished in Hell.<sup>(3)</sup>

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(1) I'tiqādāt, tr., 68.

(2) Qummī : I'tiqādāt, f.14.a.

(3) Ash'arī, Maqālāt, 474.

The Zaydīs are the moderate group of the Shī'ah. The founder of this sect is Zayd b. 'Alī b. ul Husayn who revolted against the Umayyads and was killed in Kūfah in 122 A.H. His son Yahyā escaped to Persia and there he revolted in Jūzjān and was killed in 125 A.H.

The Zaydīs differ from the Twelver Shī'ah in many ways.

For their sources of legislation, they have accepted the four sources; the Qur'ān, the Sunnah, analogy and consensus. In their works on the Uṣūl ul-fiqh which have reached us, the four principles are acknowledged.<sup>(1)</sup>

As regards their Furū' (statutes of law), Shahrāstānī states that, in his time, they followed Abū Ḥanīfah, except in a few questions, in which they followed ash-Shāfi'ī and the Shī'ah.<sup>(2)</sup> Strothmann mentioned some of the Sectarian features which have been preserved by the later Zaydī school founded by al-Qāsim ar-Rāssī (d.246), in common with the other Shī'ah:

"the call to prayer 'come to the best of works'; the fivefold 'takbīr' in the funeral service; rejection of Mash'ala 'l-Khuffayn, (wiping the covered foot as a substitute for washing), of the impious leader at prayer and of eating of the meat killed by a non-Muslim. In family law they prohibit mixed marriages; on the other hand they reject Mut'ah."<sup>(3)</sup>

(1) A number of these Mss. are preserved in the Brit.Mus. See: Cat. Arab Mss., Sup., p.174-177.

(2) Milal, 121

(3) Article Zaidīya in E.I., vol.4, 1196

But these few Shī'ī details were not kept by all the Zaydīs. In the law book attributed to Zayd b. 'Alī himself, the meat killed by the followers of revealed religions, (Ahl ul-kitāb), is allowed.<sup>(1)</sup> Marrying Christian and Jewish women is also allowed.<sup>(2)</sup> The fivefold "takbīr" in the funeral service is not insisted on.<sup>(3)</sup> Nawbakhtī states that the Batriyyah, (one of the factions of the Zaydīs), allowed 'Mash' (alā 'l-Khuffayn', eating the eel and drinking the intoxicating "nabīdh"<sup>(4)</sup> and thus followed the laws of Abū Bakr and 'Umar.<sup>(5)</sup>

Zayd b. 'Alī started a new doctrine on the Imamate, amongst the Shī'ah. According to him, it was permissible for an inferior to be appointed as Imam in the presence of a superior<sup>(6)</sup>. Thus the Imamate of Abū Bakr and 'Umar was legitimate, although 'Alī was better than they<sup>(7)</sup>. It is stated that Zayd's recognition of the first two caliphs caused the Shī'ah of Kūfah to abandon him, a fact which is said to have brought about the catastrophe which befell him<sup>(8)</sup>. Shahrastānī states that, in later times, the Zaydīs abandoned the doctrine of the Imamate of an inferior in the presence of a superior, and condemned the companions of the Prophet in the same way as the Imāmī Shī'ah<sup>(9)</sup>.

(1) Corpis Juris, 142

(2) Ibid, 201

(3) Ibid, 71

(4) Firaq, 12

(5) I do not know any intoxicating drink which is allowed by the Sunnīs.

(6) Shahrastānī, Milal, 116.

(7) Ibid

(8) Ibid.

(9) Ibid, 118.



The qualifications required in the Imam by the Zaydīs are as follows: He is to be a descendant of 'Alī and Fāṭimah, whether a Ḥasanid or a Ḥusaynid. He should be so learned and pious to such an extent as to be the best man or one of the best men of his time. Then he has to revolt, claiming his right and trying to realise it by force<sup>(1)</sup>.

The Zaydīs, in general, did not believe in the infallibility of their Imams. We may find some Zaydīs who attribute it to them,<sup>(2)</sup> but this is by no means a widespread belief among the Zaydīs. The reason for this might have been the fact that some of the Zaydīs realised some of their political aspirations. Al-Ḥassan b. Zayd founded a Zaydī state south of the Caspian sea about 250 A.H. and Al-Ḥādī ila 'l-Ḥaqq Yahyā b. al-Ḥusayn (d.298) founded a Zaydī state in Yaman which has survived all the kingdoms of this country<sup>(3)</sup>. It is difficult to claim infallibility for a statesman who deals with everyday worldly affairs. Anyhow this is only a suggestion.

The doctrine of raj'ah (return) also did not find its place among Zaydī beliefs. This doctrine was important for the other Shī'ah because it gave them hope for the return of power through the return of their Imams who had been

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(1) Ibid, 115; ar-Raṣṣās: ath-thalāthūn mas'alah, part III, question 10 (See appendix).

(2) Al-Manṣūr b. 'Izz ad-Dīn: al-Mūdi' al-musri', F.2.b.Brit. Mus. Ms., Or.3721.

(3) Article Zaidīya, E.1., Vol.IV, 1196, 7.

killed the one after the other by their political opponents. Its absence from the Zaydī teachings may be attributed to their political success in the third century A.H. In fact this doctrine appeared in connection with some of their Imams who revolted and failed and were killed. Groups of the Jārūdiyyah<sup>(1)</sup> awaited Muḥammad b. (Abdullah, the Pure Soul, who was killed in 145 A.H., Muḥammad b. ul-Qāsim who, after his defeat in 219 A.H.<sup>(2)</sup> was imprisoned and was not heard of again, and Yahyā b. (Umar<sup>(3)</sup> who was killed in 250 A.H.<sup>(4)</sup>) But in spite of such instances, it can be safely said that the "raj'ah" was not one of the tenets of the Zaydīs.

Taqiyyah, one of the chief principles of the Twelvers, did not find its way into Zaydism. One of the chief requirements of the Imam of the Zaydīs was that he had to revolt against the tyrant rulers. The Zaydīs also held the principle of "Amr bi 'l-ma'rūf and nahy 'an al-munkar" which did not permit of such practice as dissimulation.

Lastly the Zaydīs did not believe in badā'. This doctrine is never discussed by them neither is it attributed to them by a non-Zaydī writer.

(1) The Jārūdiyyah are a sect of the Zaydī Shī'ah.

(2) Ṭabarī, LII, 1265, 6

(3) Ibid, 1519 - 23.

(4) Ash'arī, Maqālāt, 67.



In theology the Zaydīs are in agreement with the Mu'tazilah. Traditions connect the two since the very beginning of Zaydism. Zayd b. 'Alī, the founder of the Zaydiyyah, is stated to have been a pupil of Wāsil b. 'Aṭā', the traditional founder of Mu'tazilism<sup>(1)</sup>. This connection seems to have been maintained since then by the Zaydīs proper, or through Mu'tazilīs, who may have held the Zaydī doctrine of the Imamate or by both. Shahrastānī tells us that in his time the Zaydī doctrines were exactly like those of the Mu'tazilah, and that the Zaydīs revered the Imams of the Mu'tazilah more than the Imams of the House of the Prophet<sup>(2)</sup>. The Zaydī treatise on theology entitled "ath-Thalāthūn Mas'alah" and written by ar-Raṣṣās<sup>(3)</sup> clearly illustrates the agreement between Zaydism and I'tizāl on questions of theology.

As far as I know, no theological treatise written by a Zaydī has ever been published in Europe. I have edited in this work a complete Zaydī creed written by a Yamanī, called Aḥmad b. al-Ḥasan ar-Raṣṣās. The date of this author's death is stated in the British Museum Catalogue<sup>(4)</sup> to be (c.600).

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(1) Shahrastānī, Milal, 116.

(2) Ibid, 121.

(3) See below.

(4) Sup., p. 130a.



Brockleman<sup>(1)</sup> has given it as (17 Ramadan, 656). The few Mss. on the local biography of Yaman which are preserved in the British Museum<sup>(2)</sup> did not help me to arrive, at any personal conclusions, and so I have to be content, for the time being, with the dates given by the learned bibliographers. This treatise which is entitled "Miṣbāḥ al-ʿUlūm fī Maʿrifat al-Ḥayy al-Qayyūm or ath-Thalāthūn Masʿalah" is edited here for the first time from six Mss. preserved in the British Museum. Other copies of it exist in other European libraries.

The questions discussed in this treatise can be summarised as follows:-

The treatise is divided into a short introduction, a short conclusion and three parts. Each part of it is divided into ten sections called "questions".

In the introduction the author advocates the independent acquisition of knowledge. Imitation is attacked by him.

Part one is on the "unity of God" (Tawḥīd) and it includes the following questions:

1. That there is a God who created this world and who directs it.
2. That God is omnipotent (qādir).
3. That God knows everything (ʿālim)

(1) G.A.L., Sup.I, 701.

(2) See No. 670 -676. Brit.Mus.Cat. Arab Mss., Sup.

4. That God is alive (Ḥayy)
5. That God is one who hears and sees (samī', baṣīr)
6. That God is eternal.

After discussing these questions and trying to prove them by theoretical arguments and revealed texts, the author states that all these attributes of God are identical with His essence. God does not need an agent to endow them on Him, neither do they constitute separate entities from His essence.

7. That God resembles none of the created beings.
8. That God has no need of anyone or anything. (ghaniyy)
9. That God cannot be seen with the eyes, neither in this world nor in the world to come.
10. That God is one who has no partner in His eternity nor in His divinity.

The second part is on God's justice ('adl). It comprises the following questions:-

1. That God is just and wise.
2. That the deeds of man, whether good or bad, are from him and not from God.
3. That God does not reward anyone except for his work, neither does He punish him except for his sin.
4. That God does not decree sins.
5. That God does not order anyone to do anything beyond his power.
6. That all illnesses, diseases and bodily defects are the work of God and that they are wise and righteous deeds.



7. That God does not will any of the sins of His servants, neither does He like it nor is He pleased with it.
8. That the Qur'an, which we have, is God's word, and His revelation.
9. That the Qur'ān is temporal and not eternal.
10. That Muḥammad is a truthful prophet.

The presence of questions 8 and 9 (on the Qur'ān), in the chapter on God's justice, is curious.

The Third part is on the Promise and Threat of God, and it comprises the following questions:-

1. That a believer, whom God has promised to reward, will go to Paradise and abide there eternally, if he dies clinging to his faith.
2. That an unbeliever, whom God has threatened to punish, will go to Hell and abide there eternally if he dies adhering to his unbelief.
3. That a "fāsiq", (mortal sinner), whom God has threatened with punishment, will go to Hell and abide there eternally, if he dies insisting on his sins.
4. That the mortal sinners among the Muslims are to be called "fussāq" and not "kuffār" (unbelievers) as the Khawārij say.
5. That the intercession of the Prophet on the Day of Resurrection is a certain thing, but it will be on behalf of those who will be introduced into Paradise so that God may increase their delights and happiness.
6. That it is the duty of every "mukallaf" to observe "Amr bi 'l-Ma'rūf and Nahy 'an al-Munkar". (Commanding that which is good and prohibiting that which is bad).
7. That the Imam after the Prophet is 'Alī b. Abī Ṭalīb.
8. That the Imam after 'Alī is his son Ḥasan.
9. That the Imam after Ḥasan is his brother Ḥusayn.



10. That any of the descendants of Hasan or Husayn is entitled to the Imamate on condition that he has the necessary qualifications for it, which are learning and piety, generosity, courage, freedom from bodily defects, sound judgment and able administration.

The author concludes the treatise by advocating personal investigation into the fundamentals of religion. Everyone should base his belief on such investigation and not on the imitation of men.

(p.58, l. 11)

The Mughīrīs:

The sect which is mentioned by our author here as al-Mughīriyyah, is mentioned by him in his first list of sects<sup>(1)</sup> as al-Batriyyah. The reason for this is that, according to the author, both al-Mughīriyyah and al-Batriyyah are two names for one sect, and Kuthayyir an-Nawwā' the founder of the Batriyyah, according to other authorities, is none other than al-Mughīrah b. Sa'īd, as our author states. I could find no other author who agrees with our author on this statement except Khuwārizmī in his book "Mafātīh ul-<sup>(2)</sup>  
(ulūm".

The sect of Mughīrah is not mentioned by any other writer among the Zaydī sects. His doctrine comprises some

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(1) Bayān al-adyān, 26

(2) See the different readings of Kuthayyir's name, p.29

ideas about God and how He created the world, which are alien to Islam. These ideas were studied by I. Friedlaender who tried to trace their origins<sup>(1)</sup>. The doctrines of Mughīrah do not display any connection with those of the Zaydīs. The only thing which he has in common with them is that he ordered his followers to await Muḥammad b. (Abdullāh b. ul-Ḥasan, (killed A.H.145), whom he described as the expected Mahdī<sup>(2)</sup>. This Muḥammad was considered by some of the Zaydīs as one of their Imams<sup>(3)</sup>. If this is to be counted as a connection, indeed, it is a very weak one. Besides this, Mughīrah was executed in 119 A.H.<sup>(4)</sup> The movement of Zayd is placed between 120 and 122 A.H.<sup>(5)</sup>

On the other hand, the Batriyyah are described as the followers of Ḥasan b. Ṣālih b. Ḥayy, Kuthayyir an-Nawwā' and others.<sup>(6)</sup> Tabari states that Ḥasan b. Ṣālih died in Kūfah in 167 A.H. when he was 62 or 63 years old<sup>(7)</sup> but no date is known about Kuthayyir. From Kashshī's reports about the latter it can be known that he was contemporary with the Imams Muḥammad al-Bāqir and his son Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq<sup>(8)</sup>.

(1) The Heterodoxies of the Shiites in the Presentation of Ibn Hazm, in J.A.O.S., vol.29, p.79F, see also Index under "Mugīrah".

(2) Ash'ari, Maqālāt, 8, 9.

(3) Shahr., Milal, 115.

(4) Tabari I, 1620.

(5) Article Zaid b'Ali, in E.1.

(6) Nawbakhti, Firaq ash-shī'ah, 12.

(7) II, 2517.

(8) Kashshī, Rijāl, F.85a, 88, 89a, Brit.Mus.Ms.



He is condemned by both <sup>(1)</sup>. Kuthayyir had no consideration for al-Bāqir and his reason for this was that he heard from al-Bāqir an exaggerated statement in favour of the Prophet and his family <sup>(2)</sup>. From this, and from his opinion about the first two caliphs <sup>(3)</sup>, we know that he was moderate in his Shī'ism. Ḥasan b. Ṣāliḥ, is also well spoken of by Ṭabarī <sup>(4)</sup>.

In fact, the sect of these two men is the most moderate sect among the Zaydīs, and, even, we can venture to say among all the Shī'ah of which we know. They combined adherence to 'Alī with adherence to Abū Bakr and 'Umar <sup>(5)</sup>. 'Alī was the best of all the people after the Prophet, but the Imamate of Abū Bakr and that of 'Umar were legitimate and both of those caliphs were worthy of this position. 'Alī surrendered his right willingly to them, and was not obliged to elect them <sup>(6)</sup>. The Batris even went so far as to follow some of the Sunnī practices which were strictly forbidden by the Shī'ah such as "Maṣḥ 'alā al-Khuffayn" <sup>(7)</sup>. Concerning 'Uthmān, they refrained from describing him with belief or unbelief <sup>(8)</sup>. In another

(1) Ibid, f.88.

(2) Ibid, 88b, 89a.

(3) See below.

(4) II, 2516.

(5) Nawbakhtī, Firqā, 12, 18.

(6) Ibid, 18.

(7) Ibid, 12.

(8) Shahr., Milal, 120.



report, they are stated to have malconsidered (1) Uthmān .  
 They were of the opinion of giving support to any of the  
 descendants of (Alī who might revolt. No such descendant  
 was considered to be an Imam unless he revolted, and all  
 the descendants of (Alī were of equal merit in their view (2).  
 (See also:

Ash'arī: Maqālāt, 68, 69;  
 Baghdādī: al-Farq, 24;  
 Shahrastānī: Milāl, 120, 21.)

(p.58, 1.14)

The Jārūdīs:

The founder of this sect is Abu 'l-Jārūd Ziyād b.  
 ul-Mundhir (3). None of the authors who mentioned him  
 give any account of his life, the date of his birth or  
 death. He was blind (4). Al-Bāqir gave him the nickname  
 of Sarḥūb and thus this sect was also called as-Sarḥūbiyyah.  
 As explained by al-Bāqir, Sarḥūb was the name of a blind  
 devil who dwelt in the sea (5). He was also condemned by  
 Ja'far as-Ṣādiq (6). From this we know that he was con-  
 temporary with these two Imams.

Most of the opinions attributed to the Jārūdīs concern  
 the Imamate. They declared that the Prophet designated

(1) Nawbakhtī, Firaq, 51.

(2) Ibid, 51.

(3) For variations of his name see: Friedl., J.A.O.S., 29, p.22.

(4) Ibn un-Nadīm, Fihrist, 178.

(5) Shahr., Milāl, 119.

(6) Fihrist, 178.

(Alī for the Imamate by description and not by name (1).

The people having failed to identify (Alī with this description, and having chosen Abū Bakr as Imam, became unbelievers (2).

This opinion, as Shahrastānī remarks, differentiated Abu 'l-Jārūd from his Imam, Zayd b. (Alī (3), who, stating that it was permissible for an inferior to become an Imam in the presence of a superior, acknowledged the Imamate of Abū Bakr and (Umar.

After this, the Jārūdīs discussed the right of the descendants of (Alī to inherit the Imamate. Some of them said that the Prophet designated (Alī for the Imamate, (Alī designated Ḥasan, and the latter designated Ḥusayn. After these, any of the descendants of Ḥasan or Ḥusayn was entitled to the Imamate if he claimed it and was fitted for it by being learned and devout. Others declared that (Alī, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn were nominated by the Prophet to succeed each other to the Imamate (4). According to Shahrastānī, a group of them declared the continuance of the succession of the Imams after Ḥusayn. Thus (Alī b. ul-Ḥusayn followed his father and was followed by his son Zayd. Then the Imamate came to Muḥammad b. (Abdullāh "the Pure Soul" (killed A.H. 145) (5). Some of the Jārūdīs did not recognise the

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(1) Ash'arī, Maqālāt, 67; Shahr., Milal, 118

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ash'arī; Maqālāt, 67.

(5) Shahr., Milal, 118.



latter's death and awaited his return, and some of them recognised it and later took Muḥammad b. ul-Qāsim as their Imam<sup>(1)</sup>. The latter was an Alid claimant who revolted at Tālaqān, in Khurāsān, was defeated and captured in 219 A.H. Al-Muṭaṣim, (218 - 227 A.H.) imprisoned him, and his fate after this is unknown<sup>(2)</sup>. Ibn ul-Qāsim's death was not recognised by some of the Jārūdīs<sup>(3)</sup>. Again some of them acknowledged the Imamate of Yaḥyā b. Umar<sup>(4)</sup> who revolted in Kūfah in 250 A.H., and was defeated and killed by the government troops<sup>(5)</sup>. Some awaited his return<sup>(6)</sup>.

The author of the "Tabṣirat ul-ʿawāmm", who wrote about the 1st half of the 7th cent. A.H., mentions the Jārūdīs as one of the Zaydī schools which still existed in his time<sup>(7)</sup>.

The Jārūdīs also discussed the nature of the knowledge possessed by the descendants of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn. Some said that such knowledge was inherent in them and they did not have to acquire it. But others maintained, in common with the rest of the Zaydīs, that knowledge was not peculiar to the descendants of Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, but was common to them and to ordinary people<sup>(8)</sup>.

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(1) Ashʿarī, Maqālāt, 67.

(2) Tabarī, III, 1265, 6.

(3) Ashʿarī, Maqālāt, 67

(4) Ibid.

(5) Tabarī, III, 1519-23.

(6) Ashʿarī, 67.

(7) p.185.

(8) Shahr, Milal, 119; Tabṣirat, 186.



(p.58, 1.16) Dhukayr b. Ṣafwān.

I could not find anything about this man or his sect in any other authority.

(p.58,1.17) The Khashabīs.

See:

Article "Khashabiya" in E.1, II, 917f.;

Friedlaender, J.A.O.S., 29, p.93f.

(p.58, 1.19) The Khalafīs.

The only other author who mentions the Khalafīs is Khuwārizmī<sup>(1)</sup>. He gives no more information about them.

(p. 58,1.21) The Kaysānīs.

See:

Nawbakhtī: Firaq ash-shī'ah, Index under Kaysān and Kaysāniyyah;

Ash'arī: Maqālāt, p.18f.;

Friedländer: J.A.O.S.,29,Index under "Keisan".

E.1. (Articles Kaisan and Kaisaniya),II,657-9, and article "Khashabiya", II, 917f.

(p. 59, 1.2) his mother's name was Ḥanafīyyah.

The name of the mother of Muḥammad b. ul-Ḥanafīyyah is Khawlah bint Ja'far. She was from the tribe of the Banū Ḥanīfah and this was the reason for calling her Ḥanafīyyah. Her full genealogy is given by Nawbakhtī<sup>(2)</sup>.

(1) Maḥāṣin ul-'ulūm, 29.

(2) Firaq ash-shī'ah, 24.

(p. 59, l. 8)

The Mukhtārīs.

See:

Nawbakhtī: Firaq ash-shī'ah, Index under "Mukhtār and Mukhtāriyyah"

Baghdādī: al-Farq, 31-37.

Friedländer: J.A.O.S., 29 Index under "al-Mukhtār b. Abi Ubeid"

E.I., (Article Mukhtār), III, 717.

(p.59, l. 9)

The Karibīs.

See:

Nawbakhtī: Firaq ash-shī'ah, 25.

Ash'arī: Maqālāt, 19.

Maqrizī: Khitāt, iv, p.178.

Friedländer: J.A.O.S., 29, p.35,36.

E.I. (Articles Kuraibiya, II, 1122; Kuthaiyir, II, 1169; and as-Saiyid al-Himyari, iv, p.76)

(p.59, l. 10)

The Ishāqīs.

Khuwārizmī mentions this sect but gives no more information about it than our author<sup>(1)</sup>. None of the books of "rijāl" which I have consulted contain any information about this Ishāq b. Umar.<sup>(2)</sup>

In fact, two men called by this name are mentioned by Dhahabī. The first of them transmitted traditions from Mūsā b. Wardān, and is described as "majhūl" (unknown).

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(1) Mafātīh ul-'ulūm, 30. The name of the founder of this sect is given in the text as Ishāq b. Amr, with Umar as a variation for Amr.



The other transmitted traditions from 'Ā'ishah.Dāraqutnī did not accept this man's authority and related one tradition only, after him<sup>(1)</sup>. But neither is accused of any heretical views. If any of them had been a Kaysānī, he could not have escaped denunciation.

Shahrastānī mentions a sect of the extremist Shī'ah, whom he calls al-Ishāqiyyah. But who the Ishāq was after whom this sect was named he does not mention. The Ishāqīs are discussed with the Nuṣayrīs in one section, although Shahrastānī states that there were differences among them. The beliefs attributed to both these sects display no specific Kaysānī colour<sup>(2)</sup>.

(p.59, l. 11)

The Harbīs.

The name of this sectarian is given in many variations.

See:

Nawbakhtī: Fīraq ash-shī'ah, Index (under  
'Abdullāh b. 'Amr b. ul-Hārith

Ash'arī: Maqālāt, 22

Friedlaender: J.A.O.S., 29, p.124f.

(p.59, l. 13)

The Extremists.

The Ghulāh (the extremist Shī'ah) were given their name on account of the exaggerated views which they held about

(1) Dhahabī, Mīzān al-ittidāl, I, 28.

(2) Shahr., Milal, 143-5.

their Imams<sup>(1)</sup>. Besides other tenets, like the belief in transmigration, the return of the dead before the resurrection, badā'<sup>(2)</sup> etc., the deification of the Imams or even the heretical chiefs was a popular tenet among them. Nawbakhtī goes as far as to assert that all of them were agreed on this<sup>(3)</sup>, but in fact, we have some instances in which exaggeration did not reach this stage.

Muslim heresiographers relegated the beliefs of the extremist Shī'ah to the effect of other religions and doctrines of which, Nawbakhtī mentioned Khurramism, Mazdakism, Zandaqah and Dahrism,<sup>(4)</sup> while Shahrastānī mentioned the doctrines of Tanāsukh and Ḥulūl (transmigration and incarnation), Judaism and Christianity<sup>(5)</sup>.

It is not possible to discuss here the origins of the creeds of the extremist Shī'ah and the hidden motives behind their movements. Such a discussion involves an extensive study of the economic, social and political conditions of the Muslims in the early centuries of Islam, as well as a critical study of these movements and the personalities who were involved in them. Neither is it within the scope of our work to give a full description of the beliefs of the

(1) Ash'arī, Maqālāt, 5; Sharḥ, Milal, 132.

(2) Ibid, 132.

(3) Firaq, 41.

(4) Ibid.

(5) Milal, 132.



extremist Shī'ah. What is attempted here is a brief presentation of the doctrine attributed to them by our author, as well as by others, the deification of the Imams which is still held by the only remaining group of the extremist Shī'ah, discussed by the early heresiographers, the Nuṣayrīs.

The origin of this idea in Islam is usually traced to 'Abdullāh b. Saba' a Jewish convert. He is stated to have addressed Alī as God by saying to him, "Thou art Thou", and to have denied his death and declared that he would return to the world and fill it with justice<sup>(1)</sup>. Whether this story is true or not is a matter which cannot be asserted. But, anyhow, we find this idea attributed to most of the sects of the extremist Shī'ah.

1. The followers of 'Abdullāh b. Mu'āwiyah, killed in 130 A.H.), a descendant of Ja'far the brother of 'Alī: The soul of God was in Adam and through transmigration it became incarnate in 'Abdullāh. It is stated that the latter claimed to be God and to be a prophet, and that his followers worshipped him<sup>(2)</sup>.

2. The Khaṭṭābīs: Followers of Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb Muḥammad b. Abī Zaynab (executed in 138 A.H.). Among other beliefs attributed to them they are stated to have worshipped

(1) Ibid, 132; Ash'arī, 15; Nawbakhtī, Fīraq, 19,20.

(2) Ash'arī, Maqālāt, 6.

Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb and Ja'far b. Muḥammad aṣ-Ṣādiq, although they declared that Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb was greater than Ja'far and even than 'Alī<sup>(1)</sup>.

3. The Ma'marīs: Followers of a certain Ma'mar.

They were a group of the Khaṭṭābīs. Worshipped their leader Ma'mar and Abu 'l-Khaṭṭāb<sup>(2)</sup>.

4. The Bazīghīs: Followers of a certain Bazīgh. They were a group of the Khaṭṭābīs. They declared that Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq was God who became manifest to the people in a corporeal form<sup>(3)</sup>.

5. The 'Umayrīs: Followers of 'Umayr b. Bayān al 'Ijlī. They were a third group of the Khaṭṭābīs. They worshipped Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq and declared him to have been their god.<sup>(4)</sup>

6. The Mufaḍḍalīs: Followers of a certain Mufaḍḍal. They were a group of the Khaṭṭābīs who shared with their fellow sectarians the belief in the divinity of Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq<sup>(5)</sup>.

7. Some contemporaries of Ash'arī believed in the divinity of Salṣmān the Persian<sup>(6)</sup>.

8. A group of the Shī'ah who stated that the Holy Spirit was God. It was incarnate in the Prophet then transmigrated from him to 'Alī then it passed through the rest of the

(1) Ibid, 11.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid, 12.

(4) Ibid, 12, 13.

(5) Ibid, 13.

(6) Ibid.



twelve Imams of the Twelver Shī'ah, all of whom are declared Gods by them<sup>(1)</sup>.

9. A group of the Shi'ah who declared 'Alī as God and Muḥammad as a liar. They used to abuse the Prophet and say that 'Alī sent him to proclaim his authority, but Muḥammad acted in his own interests<sup>(2)</sup>.

10. The followers of ash-Sharī'ī who alleged that God became incarnate in five persons, the Prophet, 'Alī, Ḥasan, Ḥusayn and Fāṭimah. All of those were Gods. These five persons in whom God became incarnate had five adversaries who were Abū Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthman, Mu'āwiyah and 'Amr b. ul-'Āṣ. Some of them declared that these adversaries were partially good because the excellence of the five persons could not be known without their contraries. Others declared that the contraries were bad and could not be declared good in any case. It is related also that ash-Sharī'ī claimed that God was incarnate in him<sup>(3)</sup>.

11. The Numayrīs: Followers of a certain Numayrī, in whom they declared God to be incarnate<sup>(4)</sup>.

12. The Nuṣayrīs: They are the only sect of the extremist Shī'ah discussed by the early hereiographers which has

(1) Ibid, 14.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid, 14,15.

(4) Ibid, 15.

survived. Up to the present day, there is a community of them in Syria. In the time of Ibn Ḥazm, they were in the Jordan valley and especially in the city of Tiberias<sup>(1)</sup>. The author of *Tabṣirat ul-ʿawāmm*, (written between 600 and 650), tells us that they were the only remaining sect of the extremist Shīʿah in his time<sup>(2)</sup>. Ibn Ḥazm describes them as a party who belonged to the Sabaʿiyyah<sup>(3)</sup> and the author of *Tabṣirat ul-ʿawāmm* states that in his day the Sabaʿiyyah came to be known as the Nuṣayrīs<sup>(4)</sup>. The real founder of this sect is not known. The etymology of its name is disputed<sup>(5)</sup>.

According to Shahrastānī they declared that the manifestation of a spiritual being in a corporeal form is possible, and cannot be denied by any sensible person<sup>(6)</sup>. As ʿAlī and his descendants were the best of the creatures after the Prophet, God became manifest in their forms, spoke with their tongues and acted with their hands<sup>(7)</sup>. This resembles the doctrine of the Jacobites about the manifestation of God in the human body of Christ, as related by the Muslims<sup>(8)</sup>. Ibn Ḥazm tells us that the Nuṣayrīs considered ʿAbd ur-Raḥmān b. Muḥjam the most excellent of all the people on earth and the most honoured in the world

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(1) *Fīṣal*, 4, 188, tr. Friedländer, J.A.O.S. vol. 28.

(2) p. 167, 180

(3) *Fīṣal*, 4, 188.

(4) p. 168.

(5) E. I. Article Nuṣayrī, vol III, 963.

(6) *Milal*, 143.

(7) *Ibid*, 124.

(8) *Ibid*, 176, 7.



to come, because he purified the spirit of the Deity from what had stuck to it of the darkness and turbidity of the body<sup>(1)</sup>.

In the only Nuṣayrī Ms. which is accessible to me<sup>(2)</sup>, the idea of the deification of 'Alī is quite clear. 'Alī is addressed in one of their prayers in the following manner:-

"O my Lord 'Alī! Thou art the great, the eternal, the one without a beginning, the creator, the wise, and the restorer of rotten bones to life."<sup>(3)</sup>

Some speeches are attributed to 'Alī by them, in which the latter is made to describe himself with the same qualities with which God is described in the Qur'ān.

Extracts from these speeches read as follows:-

"Our Lord the prince of the believers said in his speech 'al-Bayān', (the declaration), 'I am the absolute end, I am the greatest sign, I am the most sound proof; I am the one who makes people laugh and weep, and live and die; I am the one who enriches or destroys them; I am firmly established on the throne and kingship is in my possession. I am the one who addressed Moses, destroyed 'Ad and did not spare Thamūd.

He, may he be exalted, said in his speech, 'al-Kāshifah' (the revealer), 'I am the one who knows the hidden (future), and who accumulates the clouds; I am the one who directed the people to the 'qiblah' and to whom belongs the Ka'bah; I am the originator of the divine laws and the one who punishes with the burning fire. I am the one who will slay Iblīs and raise Idrīs to a high position.'

(1) Fīṣal, 4, 188.

(2) Brit. Mus. Ms. Or. 3113. This Ms. is written about 1284 A.H. (F. 152b.) See complete description of it in the Brit. Mus. Cat. Arab. Mss., Sup.

(3) F. 19a.

"He, may he be exalted, said in his speech called "al-Jawhariyyah" (the essential), 'I am the one who knows the hidden future and who removes doubts. I am the one to whom nothing is unknown and everything is manifest. My knowledge embraces everything.' " (1)

It is to be noted that all these sects maintained the divinity of their Imams, not as human beings, but through the incarnation of God in them.

This doctrine of the incarnation of the Divinity in human form found expression outside the Shī'ī sphere. The Rāwandīs maintained that al-Mansūr, the 2nd Abbāsīd caliph, was their God<sup>(2)</sup>.

Among the Sūfis also, it seems to have gained acceptance. Abū Ḥulmān ad-Dimashqī, a man of Persian origin who lived in Syria, is said to have taught that God is incarnate in every beautiful person, and that anyone who knows God in this way is beyond all religious restrictions and is permitted to enjoy everything he desires<sup>(3)</sup>. The doctrine of incarnation is also attributed to Hallāj<sup>(4)</sup> (executed 309 A.H.).

The Sūfis, called the Ḥulūlīs, seem to have been given this name on account of their belief in this doctrine.

In addition we have some examples of the application of this doctrine by heretics, who seem to have aimed at the revival of religions displaced by Islam.

(1) F. 7a-8a.

(2) Nawbakhtī, Firaq, 46, 47.

(3) Baghdādī, Farq, 245f. (F. 11, 12, 13, 14).

(4) Ibid, 248.



Hāshim b. Ḥakīm, known as al-Muqanna' (the veiled) revolted in Marw. He claimed to be God and stated that he appeared in a corporeal form to be seen. He made possessions and women to be enjoyed in common and brought to his followers all the laws of Mazdak. He was defeated and met his end in 169 A.H., but this was 14 years after he started his movement. At the time of Bīrūnī, he still had followers<sup>(1)</sup>.

In 319 A.H. a youth called Ibn Abī Zakariyyā at-Ṭamī appeared and propagated the doctrine of his own divinity. He gained a following. The Magian colour of his movement is clear. He ordered his followers to worship fire, and directed that anyone who should put out a fire with his breath should have his tongue cut out, and if with his hand should have his hand cut off<sup>(2)</sup>. He was assassinated. His movement took place at Baḥrayn and Aḥsā'<sup>(3)</sup>.

(p.59, 1.21)

#### The Kāmilīs.

Abū Kāmil declared all the companions of the Prophet to be unbelievers because they did not elect 'Alī (after the Prophet). But he also attacked 'Alī (considered him also an unbeliever)<sup>(4)</sup>, because he did not claim his right. In

(1) Bīrūnī, Chron., 211; Baghdādī, Farq, 244.

(2) Bīrūnī, Chron., 313; Baghdādī, 270, 71.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Ash'arī, Maqālāt, 17.

this (Ali had no excuse, and it was his duty to revolt, (and to fight the companions of the Prophet as he fought the followers of Mu'awiyah at Siffin) <sup>(1)</sup>. But in spite of this attack on (Ali he held exaggerated views about him.

According to Abū Kāmil, the Imamate is a light which transmigrates from one person to another. This light may qualify one person to be prophet and another to be Imam. Thus the Imamate may be transferred into prophecy through transmigration. Abū Kāmil also taught the transmigration of souls in time of death, but without giving details about this doctrine <sup>(2)</sup>.

See also:

Ibn Hazm: Fiṣal, 4, 183.

Sam'ānī: Ansāb, F.478a

Murtazā Rāzī: Tabṣirat, 168.

Maqrīzī: Khitāṭ, 4, 175.

(p.59, 1.22)

The Saba'is.

See:

E.l., Article (Abd Allah b. Saba', I, 29.

Friedlaender's Index.

Ash'arī: Maqālāt, 15.

Nawbakhtī: Firaq, 20.

Baghdādī: Farq, 223f.

Ibn Hazm: Fiṣal, 4, 180, 188.

Sam'ānī: Ansāb, f.288a.

Maqrīzī: Khitāṭ, 4, 175.

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(1) Baghdādī, Farq, 39.

(2) Apart from the statements given between curves whose sources are indicated above, this note is according to Shahrastānī: Milal, 133, 4.



## (p.59,1.23) The Mansūrīs:

See:

Friedlaender's Index, under "Abū Mansūr al-Ijlī,  
called al-Kisf".

E.I., Article "al-Ijlī", 2, 447.

Ash'arī : Maqālāt, 9.

Nawbakhtī: Firaq, 34, 35.

Baghdādī: Farq, 234, 5.

Sam'ānī : Ansāb, f.543b.

Murtazā Rāzī : Tabsirat, 170.

## (p.59,1.24) The Ghurābīs:

The text is corrupt here. The doctrine of those people is "that 'Alī and Muḥammad were so like in physical features as to be confused, as like as 'one raven is to another'".

See:

E.I., Article Ghurabiya, vol.2., 167.

Friedlaender's Index.

Khuwārizmī : Maḥatib, 31.

Baghdādī : Farq 237.

Ibn ul-Jawzī : Naqd ul-'Ilm, 103.

Maqrīzī : Khitāṭ, 4, 176 - 7.

Murtazā Rāzī : Tabsirat, 171.

(p. 60, 1.1) The Bazīghis:

The Bazīghis were a faction of the Khatṭābīs (followers of Abu'l-Khatṭāb).<sup>(1)</sup>

The name of the founder of this sect is given in different ways as follows;

Khuwārizmī<sup>(2)</sup> and our author: Bazīgh b. Yūnus; Ash'arī: Bazīgh b. Mūsā; Nawbakhtī<sup>(3)</sup> and Shahrastānī<sup>(4)</sup>: Bazīgh; Maqdisī<sup>(5)</sup> and Ibn Ḥazm<sup>(6)</sup>: Bazīgh al-Hā'ik (the weaver).

He was from Kūfah.<sup>(7)</sup>

Bazīgh taught that Ja'far b. Muḥammad aṣ-Ṣādiq was God who became manifest to the people in a human form. The Bazīghīs declared Bazīgh to have been a prophet sent by Ja'far b. Muḥammad, like Abu'l-Khatṭāb.

They claimed that any idea which came to their hearts was a revelation. Every believer is granted a revelation from God. The following Qur'anic verses are said to mean this:

"And a soul will not die but by the permission of God"

(Q., 4, 144). The permission of God, according to them, means

(1) Ash'arī, Maqālāt, 12.

(2) Mafātīḥ, 31.

(3) Firaq, 38, 40.

(4) Milal, 137.

(5) Bad', vol. 5,

(6) Fiṣal, 4, 186.

(7) Ibid.



a revelation from Him; "And your Lord revealed to the bee saying....."(Q.,16,68); "And when I revealed to the disciples saying....." (Q.,5,111).

The Bazīghīs also claimed that some of them were better than Gabriel, Michael and Muḥammad. They declared that none of them dies, but when he has attained perfection in worship, he is raised to the kingdom of heaven. They claimed also that their dead were manifest to them and that they saw them day and night.<sup>(1)</sup>

(p.59,1.2) The Ya'qūbīs:

I could not find any sect called al-Ya'qūbiyyah among the extremist Shī'ī sects mentioned in other authorities. There is a Zaydī sect called by this name, but<sup>it</sup> is named after Ya'qūb b. 'Alī al-Kūfī<sup>(2)</sup> and not Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb. Because of the resemblance on many occasions between the list of sects given by our author and that of Khuwārizmī, I am inclined to identify محمد بن يعقوب printed in our text with محمد بن يعفور (Muḥammad b. Ya'fur) printed in Khuwārizmī's text.<sup>(3)</sup>

(1) See: Ash'arī, Maqālat,12; Shahrastānī, Milāl,137.

(2) For information on this sect see: Mas'ūdī Murūj, 5,474; Ash'arī; Maqālāt,69; Murtazā : Tabsirat,187.

(3) Maḥāṭih, 31.

But practically nothing is known about this Muhammad b. Ya'fūr.

Maqdisī mentioned the Ya'furīs but all that he said about them is that they were named after Ya'fūr. (1)

Ash'arī states that they said that it was permissible for the people not to know the Imams, but in this case they were neither believers nor unbelievers. He attributes to them also that they did not allow disputes on religion (لا يستحلون الخصومة في الدين). (2)

(p.59,1.3) The Ghamāmīs:

The Ghamāmiyyah, (called also the Saḥābiyyah) were given their name because of their belief that 'Alī came to the world in the middle of the clouds. Ibn Ḥazm states that those who held this belief were Saba'īs, (3) (followers of 'Abdullāh b. Saba').

Attention is drawn here to the fact that the word "Ghamāmiyyah", had fallen from the printed text. It is mentioned in the first list of sects in the Ms. Because of this corruption in the text, the doctrine of the Ghamāmīs became attributed to Muhammad b. Ya'qūb (more probably b. Ya'fūr), since it followed directly after him.

Friedlaender have collected some information on them. See J.A.O.S., 29,p.42,43.

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(1) Bad', 5, 134.

(2) Maqālāt, 49, 50.

(3) Fiṣal, 4, 180.



(p.60, 1.6) The Ismā'īlīs :

The Ismā'īlīs meant here must be the early followers of Ismā'īl b. Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq. Curiously enough his name is given as Ismā'īl b'Alī by our author.

The heresiographers usually mention those Ismā'īlīs separately from the later movements of the Qarāmiṭah and the Bāṭinīs which developed from them.

They believed that Ja'far b. Muḥammad had died and that the Imam after him was his son Ismā'īl. They denied the death of Ismā'īl during the life-time of his father, and held that Ismā'īl would not die till he possessed the world. He is the Qā'im (the Imām who rises) according to them.

(See:

Nawbakhtī: Firaq, 57.

Ash'arī: Maqālāt, 26.

Shahrastānī : Milal, 127.)

(p.61, 1.6.) The fourth group of the Shī'ah.

The sect discussed here are the Ismā'īlīs who were known as the Bāṭinīs. In his account of them, our author gives some information about their origin and their doctrine.

The origin of Ismā'ilism has been discussed by modern scholars, and the most recent works on this subject are:

Lewis, B. : The Origins of Ismā'ilism,  
Cambridge, 1940.

Ivanow, W. : The alleged founder of Ismā'ilism,  
Bombay, 1946.

Our author's information about the doctrines of the Ismā'īlīs, recorded in 485 A.H., was written two years before the split of the Faṭimī da'wah. This took place after the death of Mustansir in the year 487 A.H.<sup>(1)</sup>

Thus it represents the creed of the Faṭimīs at that turning point in their history, as understood by our author. Parallel to it are the writings of Ghazālī<sup>(2)</sup> against them, which were written about that time, as Ghazālī refers to Mustansir as the ruler of Egypt<sup>(3)</sup>.

It must be noted here that the secrecy with which the Ismā'īlīs surrounded their movement, prevented other people, even those contemporary with the da'wah, from gaining accurate information about it. Ghazālī states that what was related about them in his time was absolute libertinism, the considering of all the forbidden things to be lawful and denying the divine laws, but, they all denied these things whenever they were attributed to them.<sup>(4)</sup>

In another place Ghazālī states that the information related from them was contradictory and that they denied most of the beliefs attributed to them if they were asked about these beliefs.

(1) Ivanow, A guide to Ismā'īlī literature, London, 1933.

(2) Streitschrift des Ghazālī gegen die Batinijsa-Sekte, Leiden, 1916.

(3) Ibid, p.8.

(4) Ibid, 10.



(p.62, 1.10,11) The divine law has an exoteric meaning and an esoteric significance:

The esoteric interpretation of all the beliefs and practices of Islam is the chief characteristic of the Bāṭinī system. Fortunately we have some Ms. parts of a few works of Qādī Nu'mān which deal with the esoteric interpretation of religion. Qadi Nu'mān joined the service of the Fāṭimids in 313 A.H. and died in 363 A.H. About him, Ivanow says that he is "apparently the most famous of all Isma'īlī authors whose works are still much studied".<sup>(1)</sup>

The following is how he interprets the fundamentals of Islam:

"Islam is based on seven fundamentals, 'wilāyah' (adherence or devotion to the Imam), 'ṭahārah' (purification), 'ṣalāh' (prayer), 'zakāh' (giving alms), 'ḥajj' (the pilgrimage to the Ka'bah) and 'jihād'. These are the fundamentals of Islam as related after the Prophet.

(1) Adam is the symbol of adherence because he is the first man to whom God made it due. He ordered the angels to prostrate themselves before him and they all did except Iblīs. Thus it was the thing by which God examined them. Every man must adhere to Adam in the same way.

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(1) Guide to Ism. Lit., 37.

(2) Noah is the symbol of purification because he is the first messenger sent by God after Adam, to purify the people from their sins. He is the first of the Prophets who brought divine laws. God made his miracle the water which is used for purification.

(3) Ibrāhīm is the symbol of prayer. He was the one who built Ka'bah and erected the "Maqām". God made the Ka'bah the qiblah in prayer and the Maqām a place for prayer. God also related of Ibrahim's words, "I have turned my face towards Him who originated the heavens and the earth as a Hanif, and I am not of the polytheists." (Q.7, 79). This saying of Ibrāhīm was the first prayer to be instituted.

(4) Moses is the symbol of Zakāh (giving alms). He was the first to teach it. The first thing which God ordered Moses to call Pharaoh to was Zakāh. He said, "اذْهَبْ إِلَىٰ فِرْعَوْنَ إِنَّهُ طَغَىٰ، فَقُلْ لَّهِ الْوَلَايَةُ أَتُزَكَّىٰ".

(5) Jesus is the symbol of fasting. He fasted continuously and he never had any intercourse with women, just as no one is allowed to do so in time of fasting.

(6) Muḥammad is the symbol of pilgrimage. He was the first to establish its rites. Before him the Arabs and other nations used to visit the Ka'bah without performing the rites of pilgrimage. He broke the idols which were in it. The pilgrimage also is the last obligation which one has to fulfill and Muḥammad is the last of the Prophets.



(7) The last one of the last seven Imams is the symbol of Jihād. He is the one who will rise and he is considered the seventh of the Speaking Prophets. God will make him dominant over all the people and thus he will kill all the opposers of Islam. These are the symbols of the seven fundamentals<sup>(1)</sup>.

But this is not where this allegorical system stops. Every religious act or rite, however trivial it may be, has an esoteric interpretation. Thus, for example, the practice of washing the nose and the mouth as a part of the purification for prayer, and cleaning the teeth have esoteric meanings which are explained in detail by him<sup>(2)</sup>.

(p.62, 1.17,18) The one who knows the esoteric.....

This statement which attributes to the Ismā'īlīs the doctrine that the one who knows the esoteric meaning of religion is exempt from the exoteric obligations is stated about them by the non-Ismā'īlī authors<sup>(3)</sup>. In the Ismā'īlī works accessible to me, I did not find this doctrine.

Qādī Nu'mān stresses the necessity of knowing the exoteric and the esoteric. Islam symbolises the exoteric and Imān (faith) symbolises the esoteric. Both of them are necessary. The belief in the esoteric comes after performing

(1) Qadī Nu'mān: Tarbiyat ul-Mu'minīn, f4b.-6b. (Summarised). S.O.A.S.Ms.

(2) Ibid, F.40a; f.57a.

(3) Ghazālī, Batiniyya, 10; Baghdādī, Farq, 280.

the exoteric as no one becomes a believer before becoming a Muslim<sup>(1)</sup>. The neophyte should be taught the exoteric before the esoteric, so that he may know the commandments of his religion<sup>(2)</sup>.

The esoteric meanings are the causes for the exoteric prayers. Knowing the former and performing the latter are necessary<sup>(3)</sup>.

p.62, 1.22) they call reason the 'antecedent'.....

The doctrine of the creation of the world through the Universal Reason from which the Universal Soul existed, is originally a neo-Platonic doctrine which was adopted by the Ismā'īlīs. In the neo-Platonic treatise, based on the Enneads of Plotinus, which was translated to Arabic in the time of the Abbāsīd caliph al-Mu'tasim (218-227 A.H.), wrongly attributed to Aristotle<sup>(4)</sup> and identified for the first time by Prof. A. Guillaume<sup>(5)</sup>, this doctrine is fully discussed. Later, it was discussed in the Ismā'īlī Encyclopaedia of Ikhwān as-Ṣafā<sup>(6)</sup>. Our author discusses it again below.

(1) Tarbiyat, f.7a.

(2) Ibid, f.12a.

(3) Ibid, f.32a.

(4) Dieterici, F., ed. & tr.: Die Sagenannte Theologie des Aristoteles.

(5) Arnold and Guillaume, ed.: The Legacy of Islam, art. Philosophy and Theology, p.252.

(6) Rasā'il, 3, 187f.



(p.63, 1.15) They have interpreted the four rivers of Paradise.

The allegorical interpretation of the rivers of Paradise, according to the Bātinīs are given by Ghazālī as follows:-

"The rivers of milk are the mines of knowledge. Milk is the esoteric knowledge which the Bātinī sucks from his teacher and by which his spiritual life is kept in the same way as the life of the materialistic body is kept by sucking milk from the breast of the mother.

The rivers of wine are the exoteric knowledge. The rivers of pure honey are the esoteric knowledge taken from the 'hujjas' and the Imams." (1)

(p. 64, 1.3) Man is alive with the partial soul.....

Again this idea seems to be borrowed from neo-Platonism. (2)

The partial souls and their relation to the human bodies are discussed in many places in the Rasā'il of Ikwān as-Safā. (3)

(1) Batinjja, 13.

(2) See: Dieterici, Theologie des Aristoteles, 4f.

(3) See: Vol.3, p.25-36.

(p. 64, 1.8,9) We do not say that He (God) exists  
neither do we say that He is non-existent.

This refers to the Ismā'īlī doctrine of God. They denied the attributes altogether. According to them, it is not lawful to say that He is existent or non-existent, that He knows or that He is ignorant, that He is able or unable, etc. This necessitates similarity between Him and the other beings which may have these attributes, and leads to anthropomorphism<sup>(1)</sup>. Even they would not say He is eternal or temporal but, according to them, His will is eternal and His creation is temporal<sup>(2)</sup>.

By this, they have gone beyond the Mu'tazilah who only denied the separate existence of the attributes of God. Shahrastānī calls the Ismā'īlīs "the real strippers of the essence" because of their doctrine of God's attributes<sup>(3)</sup>.

(1) Shahrastānī, Milal, 147.

(2) Ibid, 148.

(3) Ibid.



(p.64,1.17) the miracle of the moon.

The miracle of the moon is the one in which it is attributed to the Prophet that he split the moon into two parts by a sign of one of his fingers. Farīd ud-Dīn al-Aṭṭār<sup>(1)</sup> refers to this miracle in a couplet in his Pand Nameh, by saying:

He (Muḥammad) was the one whose friends were Abū Bakr and Umar

And by whose finger-tip the moon was split (into two parts).

Ghazālī related some of the allegorical interpretations of the miracles of the Prophets, according to the Ismā'īlīs. Examples of them are as follows:

The flood of Noah means the flood of Knowledge which drowned those who clung to their foolishness.<sup>(2)</sup> The ark is his castle in which those who followed him escaped.

The fire in which Ibrāhīm was burnt was the anger of Namrūd and not a real fire. The stick of Moses was his sound proof which swallowed the doubts which they raised.....

Jesus, exoterically had a father who was Yūsuf an-Najjār. The statement relating that he had no father means that he had no Imam as he acquired knowledge directly from God. His

①) Pand Nameh, ed. & tr. by Silvestre De Sacy. Persian text, 6. Paris, 1819.

(2) Read *المكر بالسنة* instead of *المكر بالسنة*. The latter reading does not make sense.

speaking while he was still a baby in a cradle means his knowledge, while his soul was still in his body, of things which no one knows before death when the soul escapes from the body. Restoring the dead to life by him means giving the people life by knowledge after they had been like the dead because of their ignorance of the esoteric knowledge. Curing the blind and the one afflicted with leprosy means relieving the people from the blindness of ignorance and from unbelief which is like leprosy. (1)

(p.64, 1.21) Gabriel, Michael and Isrāfīl:

Baghdādī also accuses the Ismā'īlīs of denying the angels.

Nasir-i Khusrau (394 - 452 or 453) the Ismā'īlī philosopher and propagandist criticises the belief of the other sects about the angels and gives his opinion as follows:

Some of those who claim to be Muslims, and think it a duty on themselves to kill the learned men, and follow false opinions and beliefs, believe that the angels are bodies which fly and speak in vocal words and that their work is worshipping God. They say that Gabriel came flying to the Prophet, spoke to him in vocal words then flew back to the

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(1) Ghazālī : Batiniyya, 13.



sky. They believe also that Gabriel can make himself as small and as big as he wants. Those people who do not know the angels, how can they know the Creator of the angels? What God says about Gabriel is different from their beliefs. God said that he is the Holy spirit who descended with revelation upon the heart of Muḥammad. Some verses from the Qur'an are quoted by him in support of his view:

"And most surely this is a revelation from the Lord of the worlds. The Holy Spirit has descended with it upon your heart so that you may be of the warners, in plain Arabic language".<sup>(1)</sup> (Q.26,192-5).

Thus a thing which descended upon the heart could not be a being which had bones, and if it did not have bones, then it could not have been a body. It must have been a spirit. Voice comes only from bodies.<sup>(2)</sup>

(p.67,1.9) Nāṣir-i Khusrau

On Nāṣir-i Khusrau see:

Browne, E.: Nāṣir-i Khusrau, Poet, Traveller and Propagandist, J.R.A.S., April, 1905; (p.313.-352.); E.I., art. Nāṣir-i Khusrau. (p.67.1.14) Ḥasanī Sabbāḥ.

On al-Ḥasan b. as-Ṣabbāḥ see:

(Aṭā Malik al-Juwaynī: Tārīkh-i Jahān Gushā, III, 186f; E.I., art. al-Ḥasan b. as-Ṣabbāḥ.

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(1) Qur'an, 2.91 is also quoted as a proof of this.

(2) Nāṣir-i Khusrau: Zād al-Musāfirīn, 167-8. Berlin, 1341A.H.

(p.67, 1.18) The Twelver Shī'ah.

The section entitled "the Doctrine of the Shī'ah" which has been discussed before deals, as it was pointed out, with the doctrine of the Twelvers. The following facts can be considered as a supplement to it. Our author recognises this fact by saying at the beginning of his account of the Twelvers that their beliefs are the same as those given before as the "beliefs of the Shī'ah".

(p. 67, 1.23) They perform fiftyone 'rak'as':

It is related after as-Sādiq that the prayers, obligatory and supererogatory, consist of 51 "rak'as", of which 17 are obligatory and 34 supererogatory. The explanation for fixing the number of supererogatory prayers by 34 "rak'as" is given in another tradition related after him, in which he states that the Prophet used to perform, as supererogatory prayers, double the number of the imposed duties and to fast voluntarily, in addition to the period specified, twice its length<sup>(1)</sup>.

(Other traditions connected with obligatory and supererogatory prayers are to be found in:

Kulīnī : Furū' (ul-kāfī, I, 258-265).

(p.67, 1.25) The prostration of thanks:

It is related after ar-Ridā, that prostration after the duty prayer is a thanksgiving to God for His divine

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(1) Kulīnī: Furū' (ul-kāfī, I, 258.



guidance in directing one to perform his duty. The least to be said in it is "Thanks be to God" three times..(1) A description of how to perform it is given by Qummī (2). It can be abandoned if "taqiyyah", (dissimulation), is required. (3)

The Shī'ah attach much importance to invocation after the duty prayers and al-Bāqir is reported to have said that such invocation is more worthy than the performance of a supererogatory prayer (4).

(p. 68, 1, 5-6). They present their sacrifices .....

It seems to me that the text is corrupt here and that "  " (before) should be read "  " (after). It is related after as-Sādiq that he said, "My father was once ill on the day of sacrifice. He prayed at home, then offered his sacrifice" (5).

(1) Qummī: 'Ilal ash-sharā'i', F. 140 b. Brit. Mus. Ms.

(2) Man lā yaḥḍurhu 'l-faqīh, I. 110.

(3) Ibid.

(4) Kulīnī : Furu', I. 203.

(5) Qummī: Man lā yaḥḍurhu 'l-faqīh, I. 163.

In many traditions after the Imams it is related that the "sunnah" is to eat before the morning prayer on the day of 'id ul-fitr' and to eat from one's sacrifice after the morning prayer on the day of 'id ul-adhā'(1). Qummī says, "Do not offer your sacrifice before the imām concludes the morning prayer".(2) (p.68,1.7) Fuqqā' is forbidden like wine:

See the traditions related after the Imams of the Shī'ah in which they considered it unlawful to drink 'fuqqā' (barley drink).(3) Most of these traditions are related after ar-Ridā. The drinker of 'fuqqā' is to be given the same punishment as the drinker of wine.(4) Other forbidden drinks are mentioned in Kulīnī's work (al-Kāfī, the book of drinks).(5)

(p.68,1.10,11.) unlawful to eat.....flesh of the hare:

The hare is mentioned among the animals forbidden to be used for food in a tradition related after al-Bāqir.(6) It is not forbidden by the Sunnīs.

(1) Ibid, 163,164.

(2) Qummī: al-Muqni', p.7, printed in "Al-Jawami' al-Fiqhiyyah, Tehran, 1860.

(3) Kulīnī: Furū' ul-kafī, Vol.II., pt.II, p.187,8.

(4) Ibn ul-Jawzī, Naqd al-'ilm, 105.

(5) Furū', vol.II, pt. II, 165-190.

(6) Qummī: Man lā yahdurhu 'l faqīh, III, 109.

(p.68, 1.11-13) They allow marriage .....

The Shī'ah may allow the father's guardianship of the daughter in concluding her first marriage. But a widow whomarries is free to conclude her marriage at her own instigation. <sup>(1)</sup> In a tradition after al-Bāqir he allowed any adult woman providing she is free and not weakminded to be married without a guardian. <sup>(2)</sup> Witnesses are not necessary for concluding a marriage. <sup>(3)</sup> But in the case of divorce the presence of witnesses is necessary. A divorce is not valid unless two men witness it together. Women are not accepted for witnesses of a divorce. <sup>(4)</sup>

This is opposed to the Sunnī practice. The guardian of a woman is a necessary figure in concluding her marriage. <sup>(5)</sup> The presence of witnesses is necessary (at least two men or a man and two women or four women.) <sup>(6)</sup> No witnesses are necessary in the case of divorce.

The guardian is necessary according to the Zaydīs also. Witnesses must be present both in the case of marriage and divorce. <sup>(7)</sup>

(1) Ibid, III, 127.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid

(4) Ibid, 162.

(5) Ibn Ḥazm 'alMuhallā, vol.9, 451.

(6) Ibid 465,6.

(7) al-Qāsim b. Ibrāhīm, Masū'il, F. 65 b, Brit. Mus. Ms. Or. 3977.



(p.68, 1.23) the prayer for a dead person.

Several traditions are related after the Imams, in which it is stated that the prayer for the dead can be performed without being preceded by the purification necessary for an ordinary prayer. The reason for this is that the prayer for the dead is merely "takbīr", "tasbīh", "tahmīd" and "tahlīl", and no purification is required before saying these. (1)

The reason for fixing the number of "takbīrs" as five is that the five "takbīrs" represent the five obligatory prayers which are to be performed daily. Each "takbīr" represents one prayer. (2)

There is no special formula for the invocation to be said on behalf of a dead person. One example of it reads as follows: "O our Lord! Here is one of your servants, a son of a male and a female servant of yours. O our Lord! Forgive his sins and increase his good deeds, pardon him and have mercy on him, illuminate his grave and inspire him with (a sound) proof, (probably to be able to satisfy the angels of the grave), and attach him to his Prophet. May you not deprive us of the reward (for attending his funeral) nor allow us to go astray after him". (3)

(1) Kulīnī: Furū<sup>l</sup> ul-kāfī, 1. 93.

(2) Ibid, 95.

(3) Ibid, 96.

(For full details see:

Kulīnī: Furū'ul-kāfī, I, 93-99

Qummī: Man lā yahdurhu 'l-faqīh, I, 50 F.)

(p.69, 1.4-7) the legitimate Imam after the

Prophet ..... Muḥammad.

Reference should be made here to my note on the doctrine of the Imamate according to the Shī'ah and to the sources mentioned there.

According to Qummī, the Shī'ah believe that the Prophets and the Apostles and the Imams are more excellent than angels.<sup>(1)</sup>

Concerning Muḥammad and the Imams, Qummī states that it is necessary to believe that God did not create any created being more excellent than them.<sup>(2)</sup> Later, he exaggerates more by saying that God created the whole creation for the Prophet and the people of his House.<sup>(3)</sup>

(p. 69, 1.17) FADAK.

Fadak was a village in Hījāz at a distance of two or three days from Madīnah. It was conquered peacefully by the Prophet in the year 7 A.H.<sup>(4)</sup> By conditions agreed to by the Prophet and the people of Fadak one half of the land of this village became the property of the former.

(1) I'tiqādāt F. 20b; tr. p.89,90.

(2) Ibid, F 21b; tr. 94.

(3) Ibid, F21b; tr. 95.

(4) Yaqūt: Mu'jam ul-Buldān, III, 855.

After the death of the Prophet, his daughter Fāṭimah claimed that he had given her Fadak. Abū Bakr asked her to prove this. (Alī and Umm Ayman, (a woman slave of the Prophet), gave evidence on her behalf, but Abū Bakr was not satisfied with this, as the minimum number of witnesses required for such a case is two men (or their equivalent). It was also related after the Prophet that he said "We, Prophets, are not to be inherited from. What we leave behind us is for charity purposes".

In any case all reports are agreed that Fāṭimah claimed Fadak unsuccessfully. In the time of Umar, the Jews of Fadak, as well as all the Jews of Hījāz, were given the value of their possessions and evacuated to Syria. After the first four caliphs, Fadak changed hands many times, and among its possessors were the Alīds, to whom it was given for sometime. The Imāmī Shī'ah consider the action of Abū Bakr to be a great injustice done to the daughter of the Prophet. They claim that the land of Fadak was already in her possession when her father was still alive, and that she had a representative there who collected the revenue and sent it to her. Many arguments which cannot be discussed here are put forward by them to prove their case. They consider as a forgery the tradition in which the Prophet is stated to have declared that there is to be no inheritance from Prophets. According to them it is in contradiction to the Qur'ān,



the Sunnah and the consensus. In proof of this they quote the Qur'anic verse, "Solomon inherited from David", another verse taken from the story of Zakariyyā and Yaḥyā which reads " *فَرِّبْ لِي مِمَّنْ لَدُنْكَ وَلِيًّا، رَحْمَنِي وَرَثَتُ مِمَّنْ آتَى بِعَقُوبٍ* " (give me an heir who will inherit from me and from the family of Jacob. XIX, 5,6.). To the Sunnīs, these verses do not indicate any material inheritance.

(The story of Faḍak is given in:

Balādhurī: Futūḥ al-buldān, p.29-33.

Yaqūt : Mu'jam ul-buldān, III, 855-858.

From the Shī'ī side see:

Murtazā Razī : Tabṣirat ul-'awāmm, 212-225)

(p.69, 1.21) They believe in two returns:

The two returns meant here are the return of the whole of humanity on the day of Resurrection and the return of certain dead or concealed persons to this world before that day. The former is a belief preached by Islam in common with many other religions. The latter is one of the most important beliefs of the Shī'ah.

It is not within the scope of a short note to discuss the origin of this doctrine and whether it was introduced into Shī'ism from without or whether it has grown naturally from within.

But since the early days of Shī'ism this idea has appeared. 'Abdullāh b. Saba' is stated to have said that 'Alī did not die and his followers believed that he would

return to this world to fill it with justice as it has been filled with inequity.<sup>(1)</sup>

Muḥammad b. ul-Ḥanafiyyah (d. 81. A.H.) was believed by the Karibiyyah (a group of the Kaysāniyyah) to be still alive, after his death, and to be residing in the mountains of Radwā.<sup>(2)</sup>

ʿAbdullāh b. Muʿāwiyah b. Jaʿfar b. Abī Tālīb, a Shīʿī claimant who was killed in 130 A.H., was also awaited after his death by some of his followers.<sup>(3)</sup>

Muḥammad b. ʿAbdullāh, a great grandson of al-Ḥasan b. ʿAlī, who revolted against the ʿAbbasid caliph al-Mansūr, and was killed in 145 A.H., was awaited by a group of the Shīʿah.<sup>(4)</sup>

Of the Imams of the Twelver Shīʿah, some were taken as Mahdīs who would return to this world, by other groups of the Shīʿah. Al-Bāqir (d. 114 or 117 or 118) was believed to return by the sect known as al-Bāqiriyyah,<sup>(5)</sup> as-Ṣādiq (d. 148 A.H.) was awaited by an-Nawūsiyyah<sup>(6)</sup> and al-Kāzīm (d. 183 A.H.) by al-Mamṭūrah.<sup>(7)</sup>

(1) Ashʿarī, Maqālāt, 15; Shah., Milal, 132 F.

(2) Ashʿarī, Maqālāt, 19.

(3) Shah., Milal, 113.

(4) Ibid, 118.

(5) Ibid, 125.

(6) Ibid, 126.

(7) Ibid, 127.

The awaited Imam of the Twelver Shī'ah is the twelfth, al-Qā'im (the one who rises).

To prove the "raj'ah", Qummī quotes some verses of the Qur'ān in which certain people are stated to have risen after death. He explains these verses by some Jewish legends. The stories of Uzayr (Ezra), the People of the Cave, and "those who left their homes for fear of death and were caused to die by God and then restored to life" are told by him. That the raj'ah occurred among former communities is taken by him to be a proof that it will occur among the Muslims, since the Prophet is reported to have said that all that which happened among previous communities would happen among his. (1)

This doctrine was of great importance to the continuation of Shī'ism. The Imams of the Shī'ah, having been killed the one after the other or having died without achieving the promised success, were made to return to the world to achieve much more success than that which they had missed. This idea gave hope to their followers and preserved them from being dispersed under the heavy blows of continuous persecution.

(p.70, 1.6) The prayer for their friends .....

Kulīnī devoted a whole "Kitāb" in his book "Usūl ul-kāfī" to invocation. (2) On the question of imprecation

(1) Qummī: I'tiqādāt, F 12b - 13b; tr. 62 F.

(2) Aṣ-Ṣāfī, sharḥ usūl ul-kāfī (Kulīnī's Usūl, with a Persian commentary) vol. V. Lucknow, 1890.



against the enemy, five traditions are related, all of which advocate it.<sup>(1)</sup>

(p.70, 1.8-18) They call the one who follows their doctrine a believer.....

According to the Twelver Shi'ah, to follow the Imam is an article of faith. Al-Bāqir says, "Islām is based on five duties; prayer, almsgiving, fasting (of Ramadān), pilgrimage (to the Ka'bah) and allegiance to the Imams".<sup>(2)</sup> Great emphasis is laid on allegiance to the Imams, and in another tradition related after al-Bāqir, he states it to be the most important part of faith, the thing on which all else depends. "If a man prayed every night, fasted during the day, gave as alms all his property, and performed the pilgrimage to the Ka'bah all through his life, without knowing the vicegerent of God and following him, and performing all these things under his guidance, he would have no claim to reward from God, nor would he be considered a believer".<sup>(3)</sup> Thus, according to the Twelver Shi'ah, all the other sects who did not hold the same doctrine as they about the Imamate, were not true believers.

The difference between Islām and Īmān (faith) is that Islām is the outward proclamation that "There is no God but

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(1) Ibid, 70.

(2) Kulīnī: Usūl al-kāfī, 304.

(3) Ibid, 305. Other traditions of the same nature in 306, 307.

God the One, and that Muhammad is His Prophet", and faith is believing this by the heart. By Islam amnesty is awarded, and by revealing it one is treated according to the Muslim law. But faith is something in the heart, something between man and God.<sup>(1)</sup>

(For details on belief and unbelief according to the Shī'ah see:

Kulīnī: Usūl ul-Kāfī, kitāb ul-īmān wa'l.

kufr, 295-494).

(p.70, 1.19) Badā'

Badā', according to Khayyāt, means that God promises to do something then changes His mind and does not perform the deed.<sup>(2)</sup> According to Shahrastānī, it is of three kinds, "badā'" in the divine knowledge, "badā'" in the divine will and "badā'" in the divine command. The first is that something becomes known to God different from what He has known. The second is that God sees the right thing in something different from what He has willed. The third is that God gives an order at one time, then, later, gives another order countermanding the first one.<sup>(3)</sup>

Badā' must be distinguished from "Naskh" which is the abrogation of the divine laws and their replacement with

(1) Ibid, 308, 309.

(2) Intisār, 6.

(3) Shahrastānī, Milal, 110.

others, according to the requirements of the people at different times. (1) But the third kind of badā' is very near to "Naskh" if not identical with it.

Since the early days of Shī'ism, al-Mukhtār preached "badā'" among his followers, and applied it as a political convenience. He pretended to know future happenings. If things happened as he predicted he used to present this to his followers as a proof of his truthfulness, and if not, he used to tell them that God had exercised "badā'" in them (i.e. changed His original decision about them) (2)

Badā', which is taught by the Imams of the Twelver Shī'ah, is of a more moderate nature. Knowledge is of two kinds: one is stored by God and this He has shown to no-one, and the other is the knowledge which He has revealed to His angels and prophets. Badā' is exercised by Him in the hidden knowledge, but that which He has revealed will all take place since He will never show himself as a liar. (3)

But the Twelver Shī'ah lay stress on the importance of the belief in "badā'". The Qur'anic verse, "God abolishes what He wills and establishes what He pleases" (4) is presented

(1) On "nāsikh and mansūkh" see: Suyūṭī: Itqān, 514 F. Calcutta, 1857.

(2) Shahrastānī, Milal, 110.

(3) Kulīnī: Usūl ul-kāfī, 48.

(4) Qur'ān, 13, 39. This verse is not taken by other sects to mean badā'. - e.g. see: Khayyāt: Intiṣār, 127, 28.



by them as a proof of it. <sup>(1)</sup> According to the Imams,  
 "God is never worshipped with something equal to the belief  
 in His practice of Badā', neither is He glorified with some-  
 thing better than it". <sup>(2)</sup> No prophet was sent on a mission  
 before acknowledging five things in connection with God,  
 "badā'", the divine will, prostration (before Him) and  
 subjection and obedience to Him. <sup>(3)</sup>

This doctrine seems to have been important to the  
 Shī'ah for political reasons. The doctrine of badā' must  
 have provided a good excuse for the failure to achieve any  
 promised success.

(See the remarks of Sulaymān b. Jarīr on the  
 application of Badā' doctrine and taqiyyah by  
 the Imams of the Imāmī Shī'ah as a means of  
 deceiving their followers: Nawbakhtī, Firaq,  
 55, 56.)

(p.70, 1.20 - p.71, 1.2) continued existence of the  
 twelfth Imam .....

Sayyid Murtadā meant here is <sup>(4)</sup> Alī b. Husayn b. Mūsā.  
 one of the descendants of Alī b. Abī Tālib. His "Kunyah"  
 is Abu l-Qāsim and his "laqab" (epithet) is

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(1) Kulīnī: Kāfi, 48.

(2) Ibid.

(3) Ibid.

(4) For his full name see: Tūsī : Fihrist kutub ash-  
 shī'ah, 218, Calcutta, 1855.

"*Alam ul-Hudā al-Ajall as-Sayyid al-Murtadā*." (1) He was born in 355 and died in 436 A.H. (2) He is stated to have been learned in theology, jurisprudence, principles of jurisprudence, literature, grammar and poetry, and to have been besides this a poet whose poems amounted to more than 20,000 couplets. A long list of books is attributed to him by Tūsī, who said that he mentioned only the more important of Murtadā's works. Among these books, that called "*al-Muqni' fi'l-ghaybah*", referred to by our author, is mentioned. (3) I do not know whether this book is still in existence or not.

(On the subject of "*ghaybah*", (the concealment), see:

Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan at-Tūsī (d.460): *Kitāb al-ghaybah*, Tabriz, 1323;

Muḥammad b. Yūsuf ash-Shāfi'ī (d.658): *Kitāb al-bayān fī akhbār sāhib az-zamān* (printed with Tūsī's book, p.302-345).

Tūsī included in this book most of the Shī'ī beliefs on this subject. What is the concealment of the Master of the Time, what is the reason for it, why was it prolonged in spite of the world's great need of him as it has

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(1) Ibid. 219.

(2) Ibid 220.

(3) Ibid 219,20.

been filled with trouble, are the type of question answered in this work. Tūsī not only argues with non-Shī'ī sects who denied the concealment and the return, but also with other Shī'ī sects who awaited other "Mahdīs", like the Kaysāniyyah who awaited Muḥammad b. ul-Ḥanafiyyah and the Nawūsiyyah who awaited Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq, etc.

(p.71, 1.4.) The Twelve Imams:

For information about the Imams of the Twelver Shī'ah, see:

Donaldson, D.M.: The Shi'ite religion, London, 1933.

Some articles have been written on some of those Imāms in W. 1.

Attention is drawn here to the fact that our author, in common with other Shī'ī writers, stated all the Imams to have been killed, <sup>(1)</sup> a matter which in the case of some of these Imams, such as Ḥasan I, Ja'far aṣ-Ṣādiq and Alī ar-Riḍā, raises some most difficult historical problems which have not been settled yet. <sup>(2)</sup>

(p.73, 1.24 - p. 74, 1.1) Each one..... worked Mu'jiza .....

That the Imams worked miracles is stated by Qummī who says about them that "they worked miracles and displayed sound proofs" <sup>(3)</sup>

(1) Qummī: I'tiqādāt, F 23.

(2) See; Strothmann: Article Shī'ah in E. I., IV. 350,2.

(3) I'tiqādāt, F. 22a.



Ash'arī states that the Imāmī Shī'ah were divided into four groups on this question:

(1) Those who stated that the Imams displayed miracles in the same way as the prophets, although the angels did not descend to them (with revelations).

(2) Those who stated that the Imams displayed miracles and that the angels descended to them with revelations, although they were not allowed to abrogate the divine laws.

(3) Those who stated that the Imams displayed miracles, that angels descended to them and that they were allowed to abrogate the divine laws.

(4) Those who stated that miracles were not displayed except by the prophets, and that angels did not descend on anyone other than them, and that it was not possible that God might abrogate the divine laws through the Imams, as they were the guardians of these laws. (1)

(p.74, 1, 2 - 3) their (the Imams') juridical decisions ....

The following are two of the greatest extant works containing the "fatwas" and the answers of the Imams:

(1) Kulīnī: al-Kāfī.

(2) Qummī: Man lā Yahdurhu 'l-faqīh.

In these two books the "fatwas" and the answers of the Imams are classified under the different subjects of "fiqh".

(p.74, 1.7) The Twelfth Imam was born .....

That the Twelfth Imam of the Shī'ah has ever existed

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(1) Ash'arī: Maqālāt, 50,51.

is a contested fact. Denials of his birth are put forward by Sunnīs as well as by groups of the Shī'ah other than the Twelvers.

Ibn Hazm states that al-Hasan, the eleventh Imam of the Twelvers left behind neither son nor daughter.<sup>(1)</sup> The groups of the Shī'ah who denied that al-Hasan had ever had a son are mentioned by Shahrastānī.<sup>(2)</sup>

These doubts about the birth of the twelfth Imam are challenged by the Twelver Shī'ah and arguments against them are to be found in their books.<sup>(3)</sup>

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(1) Fīsal, IV., 181.

(2) Milal, 129, 130.

(3) See: Tusi: Kitāb al-ghaybah, 54, Tabriz, 1323.

## (p.75) The Khārijīs

Most of the account of Khārijism given by our author deals with the rise of their movement. The story of Khārijism has been told by many writers. In the following sources, some accounts of them are to be found:

- (1) Naṣr b. Muzāḥim al-Minqarī: Wāqī'at Ṣiffīn, Cairo, 1946. (The author is a Shī'ī who died in 212 A.H. His book is a detailed account of the battle of Ṣiffīn and the subsequent arbitration, from the point of view of the Shī'ah).
- (2) Abū Ḥanīfah ad-Dīnawarī: al-Akḥbār at-Ṭiwāl, ed. W. Guirgass, p.178f. (The author was probably born in the first decade of the 3rd cent. A.H. and d. 282 A.H.). (1)
- (3) Ṭabarī: Annals, I, 3256f. (the battle of Ṣiffīn and the incidents which led to the arbitration). Ṭabarī was born probably at the end of 224 or the beginning of 225 A.H. (2) His history stops in 302 A.H.
- (4) Mas'ūdī: Murūj, 4, 288f. (The caliphate of 'Alī); p.343 (the battle of Ṣiffīn); p.283 (the two arbiters and the arbitration). Mas'ūdī was a Shī'ī. He wrote his work about 332 A.H.
- (5) Maqdisī: al-Bad' wa't-Tarīkh, 5, 208f. (The caliphate

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(1) See: E.1. Article Dīnawarī.

(2) E.1., Article Ṭabarī.



of (Alī and the incidents which led to the rise of Khārijism). In his account, Maqdisī has some inclination towards (Alī. He wrote his book about 355 A.H.

(6) Ibn ul-Athīr: al-Kāmil, 3, 228f. (Ibn ul-Athīr was born in 555 and d. 630 A.H.).

Reports on the Khawārij are numerous and contradictory. It is impossible to discuss them here. All these reports were handed<sup>down</sup>/to us by authors who were of different creeds from the Khawārij, and who were more or less hostile to them.

The contribution made to the study of Khārijism here, is the publication of an account of it, written by a Khārijī. This is the first time an account of Khārijism, written by a Khārijī author is published.

This author is Abū Sa'īd Muḥammad b. Sa'īd al-Qalḥātī who was an Ibādī Khārijī. The book utilized here is called al-Kashf wa'l-Bayān, a unique Ms. preserved in the British Museum. (1)

This is a work of two parts, one of which is historical and the other theological. In the historical part, there is a chapter on the caliphate of (Alī which contains the

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(1) Or. 2606. See the description of it in: Cat. Arab. Mss., Sup., p.121-24.

account of Khārijism referred to above. This chapter is produced here in an abbreviated English translation.<sup>(1)</sup> The abbreviation was necessary because the text is corrupt in some places, and in others it contains some needless repetitions. But it is believed that all the important facts in it have been given in this translation.

In the theological part of the book, there is a study of non-Muslim religions and Muslim sects. The study of the Muslim sects is of special importance because it shows us the opinions of the Ibādī Khawārij about the other Muslim sects. Naturally the Ibādīs are stated to be the only right sect.

As we have books on the Muslim sects, written by Sunnī and Shī'ī authors, in which the Khawārij are criticised it is of much interest to have a book written on this subject by a Khārijī, to show the point of view of the Khawārij and to give their criticism of other sects.

This book contains also a great deal of information about the Ibādīs. The author, when describing the beliefs of each sect, tries to refute them if they are different from his, then gives the Ibādī opinions on the questions discussed. Besides this, he gives an Ibādī creed at the end of his work.<sup>(2)</sup>

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(1) See: Appendix B.

(2) f.224a.

The date of the author of this work is not known. It was probably comparatively late. But this does not lessen our interest in the work in general, and in his account of Khārījism in particular. Concerning the latter, there are some reasons which convince me that the facts given in it go back to an early date.

(1) Some of the important arguments against Ibn 'Abbās attributed to the first Khawārij by our author, are given in a very brief form in a report by Abū Mikhnaf. The latter related these arguments after the Khawārij. This report is recorded in Ṭabarī.<sup>(1)</sup> It shows us that these arguments were known as early as the arguments of 'Alī against the Khawārij. Whether these arguments attributed to the first Khawārij were really put forward by them, or whether they were fabricated later, is a question which applies equally to 'Alī's arguments, and which cannot be answered with certainty. But, as these arguments were given although very briefly, by Abū Mikhnaf, we must assume that they represent one of the early phases of Khārījī theology.

(2) Again, Abū Mikhnaf gives another report, related after the Khawārij, on the reason for their separation from 'Alī.<sup>(2)</sup>

(1) Ṭabarī, I, 3351, 52.

(2) Ṭabarī, I, 3353.



This report is given with few more details by Qalhātī.<sup>(1)</sup>

(3) Qalhātī mentioned at the end of his book, in a form of an "isnād", the groups of scholars, at different times through whom the Ibādī doctrine was preserved from the time of 'Abdullāh b. Ibād downwards.

(4) Furthermore the book seems to contain some traditions fabricated by the Khawārij to strengthen their cause. An example of these is the tradition put in the mouth of the Prophet to condemn the arbitration. In this tradition the Prophet is stated to have said, "In my community there will be two arbiters who will go astray and cause those who follow them to go astray". I could not find this tradition anywhere else.

For these reasons, I am inclined to think that the information on the Khawārij, given in Qalhātī's book, is compiled from early Khārijī works. It throws a new and comparatively bright light on their early theological views.

(p.84, l.11,12) Ṣāhib ath-Thudayyah:

On the story of this man see:

Mas'ūdī : Murūj, IV, 415.

Maqdisī : Bad', V, 137.

Mubarrad: Kāmil, 595.

Ibn ul-Athīr : Annals, III, 291,92.

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(1) al-Kashf wa'l-Bayan (f. 195b-196a. "On the separation of the Khawārij (from 'Alī)").

APPENDIX A.

MISBĀH ul-ʿULŪM fī MAʿRIʿAT al-HAYY al-QAYYŪM,

A ZAYDĪ CREED BY

AHMAD b. ul-HASAN ar-RASSĀS.

APPENDIX A.

The Miṣbāḥ ul-ʿUlum fī Maʿrifat al-Hayy al-Qayyūm of Ahmad b. ul-Ḥasan ar-Raṣṣās is edited here from six copies in the British Museum.

Some of these copies contain the text and a commentary on it, but the text is distinguished from the commentary by being written in a different ink: The Mss. containing this treatise are the following:-

- Or: 3884. This is the most correct copy. It is written in red ink with a commentary on it in black. *It forms the basis of this edition.*
- Or: 3953. Referred to by the letter ب
- Or: 4026. Referred to by the letter ج
- Or: 3916. Referred to by the letter د
- Or: 3989. Referred to by the letter هـ
- Or: 3957. Referred to by the letter ز

The Catalogue of the British Museum should be consulted for a description of these copies.



## مصباح العلوم في معرفة الحى القيوم

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### المعروف بالثلاثين مسألة

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١- (١٣) الحمد لله لى المن والافضل ؛ الحكيم فى الافعال

الصادق فى الاقوال ؛ المدمر لاعدائه الجهال ؛ الذى عمننا

٣- من الاغترار باهل الضلال (١٤) والانخداع بزخارف كل محتال

٢

ووفقنا لا يشار الادلة والبراهين عن تقليد الرجال ؛ وانقذنا بما

وفقنا له من تحصيل العلم عن <sup>٣</sup> ادواء الجهل والجهال ؛ وصلواته

٦- (٤ ب) على نبيه الراقى من الشرف فوق ذروة الكمال ؛ محمد

المصطفى وعلى آله خير آل •

(١٥) اما بعد فان العلم بالله رأس العلوم ؛ واولاها بالانوار

٩- والتقديم لما روينا بالاسناد الموثوق به عن النبي صلى الله عليه

---

(١) هـ عن (٢) هـ • وانقذنا بما الهنا اليه (٣) و • من

(٤) ب • و • هـ • الى •

- ١- وسلم ان رجلا اتاه فقال • يا رسول الله ؛ علمنى من غرائب العلم
- فقال صلى الله عليه وسلم • وماذا صنعت فى رأس العلم حسنى
- ٣- تسألنى عن غرائبه • فقال الرجل • يا رسول الله ؛ وما رأس العلم ؟
- قال صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم • معرفة الله حق معرفته • قال
- وما معرفة الله حق معرفته ؟ قال صلّم • ان تعرفه بلا مثل ولا
- ٦- شبهه<sup>٥</sup> ( ١٦ ) وان تعرفه الاها واحدا او لا آخر ا ظاهرا باطنا لا
- كفو له ولا مثل<sup>٦</sup> وروينا عنه صلّم انه قال • التوحيد ثمن الجنة
- ورويانا عنه صلّم انه قال • افضل العلم لا اله الا الله ( ٦ ب )
- ٩- وافضل الدعاء الاستغفار فاذا ثبت انه افضل العلوم<sup>٧</sup> ؛ وجب على
- العاقل ان يجتهد فى طلبه ؛ ليفوز يوم القيامة بسببه لقول النسي
- صلّم • اطلبوا العلم ولو بالصين • ( ١٧ ) فان طلب العلم فريضة
- ١٢- على كل مسلم ومن ترك العلم<sup>٨</sup> من اجل ان صاحبه فقير او اصفى

---

( ٥ ) ب • ولا شبهه الاها • ه • ولا شبهه وان تعرف الاها • •

( ٦ ) ب • ولا مثل وعنه صلّم • افضل العلم لا اله الا الله وافضل

الدعاء الاستغفار وقال صلّم • التوحيد ثمن الجنة ( وفى نسخة ( و )

- ١

منه سنا فليتبوأ مقعده من النار؛ فاذا تقرر ذلك فاعلم ان اول ما

يجب على<sup>٩</sup> المكلف ان يعرف الله تعالى وتوحيده وعدله وصدق وعده

- ٢

ووعيده ؛ وهذه الجملة تشتمل على ثلاثة فصول اولها التوحيد ( ٨ ١ )

والثاني العدل والثالث<sup>١١</sup> الوعد والوعيد •

### التوحيد

- ٦

اما مسائل التوحيد فهي عشر مسائل •

المسألة الاولى • ان لهذا العالم صانعا صنعه ومدبرا دبره ؛ وان

والدليل على ذلك ان هذه الاجسام محدثة لانها لم تخل من هذه

الاعراض<sup>١٢</sup> ( ٨ ب ) التي هي الحركة والسكون والاجتماع والافتراق<sup>١٣</sup> - ٩

وهذه الاعراض محدثة لانها تعدم وتنزل والجسم باق ؛ فلو كانت

كملت قديمة لما جاز عليها العدم ؛ لان القديم واجب الوجود فلا ( ١٤ )

يجوز عليه العدم ؛ واذا ثبت حدوث الاعراض بما قد منا وجب ان تكون - ١٢

ذكر الحديثان بهذا الترتيب ايضا • ( ٧ ) هـ العلم ( ٨ ) بـ و • العلم لاجل  
 ( ٩ ) على كل مكلف • ( ١٠ ) هـ وثانيها ( ١١ ) هـ وثالثها ( ١٢ ) ب • الاعراض  
 المحدثه



- ١- الاجسام محدثة<sup>١٥</sup> ايضا لانه لا يجوز ان يوجد الجسم والعرض معا
- ويكون احدهما قديما والاخر محدثا لان القديم يجب ان يتقدم على
- ١٦
- ٢- المحدث نقدا لا اول له ( ١٩ ) واذا ثبت ان هذه الاجسام
- محدثه فلا بد لها من محدث وهو الله تعالى لان العباد لا يقدرون
- ١٨
- ١٧ على شئ منها فيجب ان يكون محدثها الله تعالى الا ترى ان
- ٦- افعالنا لما كانت محدثة وجب ان يحتاج الينا لاجل حدوثها ( ٩ ب )
- فثبت بهذه الجملة ان لهذا العالم صنعا صنعه ومدبرا دبره •
- المسألة الثانية ان الله تعالى قادر وحقيقة القادر هو من<sup>١٨</sup> يمكنه
- ٩- الفعل ( ١٠ ا ) والدليل على ان الله تعالى قادر ان الفعل الذي
- هو العالم قد وجد منه تعالى فلو لم يكن قادرا على ايجاده لما
- اوجده لان الضعيف عاجز لا يمكنه ايجاد الفعل وقد وجد الفعل

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(١٣) ب؛ هـ • الافتراق والكون المطلق (١٤) و • ولا (١٥) و • حادثة  
 (١٦) ب • فاذا (١٧) ب؛ و • على فعل شئ (١٨) ب • محدثها هو  
 الله • (١٩) ب؛ هـ • من يصح منه الفعل •

٢٠ من جهة الله تعالى فيجب وصفه بأنه تعالى قادر . ١-

المسألة الثالثة . ان الله تعالى عالم وحقيقة العالم <sup>٢١</sup> من <sup>٢٢</sup> يمكنه .

٣- الفعل المحكم ( ١٠ ب ) ، والدليل على ان الله تعالى عالم <sup>٢٣</sup> ان

الفعل المحكم قد وجد منه تعالى <sup>٢٤</sup> وذلك ظاهر في ملكوت السموات <sup>٢٥</sup>

والارض وما بينهما من الحيوانات فان فيها من الترتيب والنظام

٦- ما يزيد على كل صناعة محكمة في الشاهد من بناء وكتابة وغيرهما

فاذا كانت الكتابة <sup>٢٦</sup> تدل على ان فاعلها عالم فلا شك ان ترتيب

هذه المخلوقات ابلغ من ترتيب الكتابة المحكمة ( ١١ ) فيجب ان

٩- يدل ترتيبها على ان الله تعالى عالم .

المسألة الرابعة . ان الله تعالى حي ( ١١ ب ) وحقيقة الحي هو

من يصح <sup>٢٧</sup> ان يقدر ويعلم <sup>٢٨</sup> والدليل على ان الله تعالى حي انه قادر

( ٢٠ ) و . من جهته تعالى ( ٢١ ) ب ؛ ج ؛ ه . العالم هو .

( ٢٢ ) ب ؛ ه . من يصح منه ( ٢٣ ) و . عالم هو ( ٢٤ ) و . تعالى

ورقع ( ٢٥ ) ح . ظاهر في السموات ( ٢٦ ) ب . الكتابة المحكمة ( ٢٧ ) و

يصح منه .

١- عالم على ما تقدم بيانه <sup>٣٩</sup> واذا ثبت انه تعالى قادر عالم وجب <sup>٣٠</sup>

ان يكون حيا الانرى ان الميت والجماد لا يصح ان يكونا قادرين

٣- ولا عالمين وليس ذلك الا لكونهما غير حيين وقد ثبت ان الله تعالى

قادر عالم فيجب وصفه بانه تعالى حي •

المسألة الخامسة • ان الله تعالى سميع بصير وحقيقة السميع

٦- (١١٢) البصير هو من يصح ان يدرك المسموع والمبصر ؛ والدليل

على ان الله تعالى سميع بصير انه تعالى حي لا آفة به ؛ والدليل

على انه حي <sup>٣١</sup> قد تقدم بيانه <sup>٣٢</sup> والذي يدل على انه لا آفة به ان الآفات <sup>٣٣</sup>

٩- هي فساد الآلات وذلك لا يجوز الا على من كان جسما (والله

تعالى ليس بجسم ولا عرض <sup>٣٤</sup>) على ما يأتي بيانه ( فثبت ان الله تعالى

حي لا آفة به <sup>٣٤</sup>) واذا ثبت انه تعالى حي لا آفة به وجب ان

(٢٨) ح • ان يعلم ويقدر (٢٩) و • ما تقدم والقادر والعالم لا يكون

الا حيا فاذا (٣٠) فهو فاذا (٣١) ب • تقدم والذي يدل •••

(٣٢) و • بيانه والدليل على ••• (٣٣) ب • ان الآفة (٣٤)

( مأخوذة من هـ ) وفي "ب" والله تعالى ليس بجسم ولا لون على ••



١- يكون سميعا بصيرا ؛ ( ١٢ ب ) الا ترى ان الواحد منا اذا كان

حيا لا آفة به تمنعه من ادراك المسموعات والمبصرات فانا نصفه بانه

٢- سميع بصير فثبت ان الله تعالى سميع بصير .

المسألة السادسة ان الله تعالى قديم وحقيقة القديم هو الموجود

الذى لا اول لوجوده والدليل على ان الله تعالى قديم انه ثبت

٦- انه تعالى موجود ( ١٣ ا ) لانه اوجد العالم فلما كان معدوما لما

اوجده لان المعدوم لا يصح منه ايجاد شيء اصلا وذلك معلوم عند

٣٥ ٣٦

كل عاقل ؛ فاذا ثبت انه تعالى موجود وجب ان يكون قديما

٩- لانه لو كان محدثا لاحتاج الى محدث يحدثه كما ان الاجسام لما

٣٧ ٣٨

كانت محدثة احتاجت الى محدث ؛ فلو كان الله تعالى يحتاج

الى محدث لكان الكلام في محدثه كاللزام فيه فان احتاج الى محدث

٣٩

١٢- آخر ادى ذلك الى ما لا نهاية له ؛ وذلك محال ؛ وان انتم

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وفي " و " والله تعالى ليس بجسم على ( ٣٤ ) من " ب " ؛

" هـ " ؛ " و " ( ٣٥ ) هـ . عالم ( ٣٦ ) ب ؛ ح . واذا

١- الحال الى محدث لا يحتاج الى محدث فهو الذي نريد اثباته <sup>٤٠</sup> من

القديم <sup>٤١</sup> وهو الله تعالى ثبت بهذه الجملة ان الله تعالى قديم •

٣- ( ١٣ ب ) واذا ثبت ان الله تعالى قادر عالم حي موجود فانما

يستحق هذه الصفات لذاته <sup>٤٢</sup> فلا يحتاج في ثبوتها له الى فاعل <sup>٤٣</sup>

ولا الى معان <sup>٤٤</sup> توجب هذه الصفات والدليل على ذلك انه لو لم

٦- يستحقها ( ١٤ ا ) لذاته لا افتقر في ثبوتها <sup>٤٥</sup> الى فاعل يجعله

تعالى على هذه الصفات او يحدث له معاني توجب له هذه الصفات

كما ان الواحد منا لما لم يستحق هذه الصفات لذاته <sup>٤٦</sup> افتقر الى فاعل

٩- اوجد ذاته <sup>٤٧</sup> واوجد له معاني اوجبت له <sup>٤٨</sup> سائر الصفات وهي القدرة

والعلم والحياة وقد ثبت ان الله تعالى قديم فلا يحتاج في ثبوت هذه

( ٣٧ ) هـ • وجب ان تحتاج الى محدث؛ ب • وجب ان تحتاج الى محدث

يحدثها ( ٣٨ ) ب؛ ح • ولو ( ٣٩ ) ح • واذا • ( ٤٠ ) و • ثبوته •

( ٤١ ) و • القدم فثبت بهذه الجملة ( ٤٢ ) و • لذاته على معنى انه

يحتاج ••• ( ٤٣ ) ح • فاعل يجعله تعالى على هذه الصفات ولا الى

معان ••• ( ٤٤ ) هـ • توجب له ( ٤٥ ) ب • ثبوتها له ( ٤٦ ) ب •

افتقر في ثبوتها؛ و: افتقر في ثبوتها له •

- ١- الصفات له الى فاعل ولا الى معان محدثه توجب له هذه الصفات
- ( ١٤ ب ) ولا يجوز ان يستحقها لمعان قديمة<sup>٤٩</sup> لانه<sup>٤٩</sup> كان يجب
- ٣- ان تكون امثالا لله تعالى لمشاركتها له في القدم الذي به فارق
- سائر المحدثات • وقد ثبت ان الله تعالى لا مثيل<sup>٥٠</sup> له<sup>٥١</sup> ، فثبت
- ان الله تعالى يستحق هذه الصفات لذاته واذا ثبت ذلك وجب ان
- ٦- تكون ثابتة له تعالى فيما لم يزل وفيما لا يزال ولا يجوز خروجه عنها<sup>٥٢</sup>
- بحال من الاحوال لانه لا مخصص يقتضى ثبوتها<sup>٥٣</sup> في حال دون حال •
- المسألة السابعة • ان الله تعالى ( ١١٥ ) لا يشبه شيئا من المحدثات<sup>٥٥</sup>
- ٩- والدليل على ذلك انه تعالى لو اشبهها لوجب ان يكون محدثا
- مثلها والا وجب ان تكون قديمة مثله لان المتلين لا يجوز ان يكون
- احدهما قديما والآخر محدثا وقد ثبت ان الله تعالى قديم وان الاشياء
- ١٢- سواء محدثة فلا يجوز ان يكون مشبهها لها<sup>٥٦</sup>

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(٤٧) و • واوجد له به (٤٨) ح • توجب سائر • و • اوجبت هذه الصفات  
 (٤٩) ه • لانه يجب • (٥٠) ح • ه • مثل (٥١) ه • له على ما يأتي  
 بيانه •



- ١- المسألة الثامنة • ان الله تعالى غنى ؛ ( ١٥ ب ) وحقيقة الفنى هو الذى ليس يحتاج والدليل على ان الله تعالى غنى انه قد ثبت انه
- ٢- تعالى حتى <sup>٥٧</sup> فلا يخلو اما ان يكون غنيا او محتاجا ولا يجوز ان يكون
- الله محتاجا اذ <sup>٥٨</sup> لو كان محتاجا لوجب ان يوجد الاشياء المحتاج
- اليها دفعة واحدة لعله بان له فى ايجادها نفعا خالصا وليدة <sup>٥٩</sup>
- ٦- كاملة وهو قادر على ايجادها وغير ممنوع من ذلك كما ان الواحد منا اذا كان محتاجا الى شئ وهو قادر على ايجادها وغير ممنوع
- ( منه ) <sup>٦٠</sup> ولا صارف له منه <sup>٦١</sup> فانه يوجد لا محالة • وفى علمنا
- ٩- بوجود الاشياء المحتاج اليها شيئا بعد شئ دلالة على ان الله تعالى ما اوجدها لحاجة منه اليها وانما اوجدها لمصالح العباد
- فتثبت <sup>٦٢</sup> بذلك ان الله تعالى غنى •

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(٥) و • خروجه عن هذه الصفات فى حال (٥٣) هـ • مخصص له (٥٤) هـ • و • ثبوتها له (٥٥) و • المحدثات ولا يشبهه شئ منها • (٥٦) ب؛ هـ • و • مشبهها لشئ منها • (٥٧) ب • حتى لا آفة به •

- ١- المسألة التاسعة • ان الله تعالى لا يرى بالابصار لا في الدنيا ولا في الآخرة ( ١٦ ١ ) والدليل على ذلك انه لو صح ان يرى في حال من
- ٢- من الاحوال لوجب ان نراه الان لان حواسنا سليمة والعوانع <sup>٦٣</sup> مرتفعة لان العوانع المعقولة من الرؤية هي البعد والقرب المفرطان والرقصة واللطافة والحجاب والكثيف <sup>٦٤</sup> وكون المرئ <sup>٦٥</sup> خلاف جهة الرائي وان
- ٦- يكون <sup>٦٦</sup> محله في بعض هذه الاوصاف ( ١٦ ب ) وعدم الضياء المناسب للعين <sup>٦٧</sup> فان هذه هي العوانع من رؤية الاجسام والالوان والله تعالى
- ليس بجسم ولا لون على ما تقدم بيان ذلك <sup>٦٨</sup> وقد ثبت ان الله تعالى
- ٩- موجود فلهذا قلنا • لو صح <sup>٦٩</sup> ان يرى في حال من الاحوال لوجب
- ان نراه الان ولا شك انا لا نراه الان فيجب ان لا يرى في حال من <sup>٧٠</sup> الاحوال • وقد قال تعالى • " لا تدركه الابصار وهو يدرك الابصار

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( ٥٨ ) ب؛ ح؛ هـ • و • لانه • ( ٥٩ ) ج؛ هـ • ايجادها غير • ( ٦٠ ) كذا في ب؛ ح؛ هـ • وفي "و" عنه ( ٦١ ) ب • عنه ( ٦٢ ) و • ثبت انه تعالى • ( ٦٣ ) ب؛ هـ • والعوانع من رؤيته مرتفعة ( ٦٤ ) ح • وان يكون ( ٦٥ ) و • في خلاف ( ٦٦ ) ب • وكون محله ( ٦٧ ) هـ • للعين فان هذه هي المانعة من الرؤية ولا شك ان هذه العوانع لاتمنع الا من رؤية

١- وهو اللطيف الخبير " ( ٦٠ ١٠٣ ) فنفي تعالى بهذه الآية ان تدركه

الابصار وذلك يستغرق جميع الاوقات <sup>٧١</sup> فثبت بذلك ان الله تعالى لا <sup>٧٢</sup>

٣- يرى بالابصار لا في الدنيا ولا في الآخرة . ( ١٧ ب ) . <sup>٧٣</sup>

المسألة العاشرة . ان الله واحد لا ثاني له <sup>٧٤</sup> في القدم والالهية

وحقيقة الواحد هو المتفرد <sup>٧٥</sup> بصفات <sup>٧٦</sup> الالهية والكمال <sup>٧٧</sup> وهي كونه <sup>٧٨</sup> قادرا على جميع

٦- اجناس المقدورات عالما بجميع انواع <sup>٧٩</sup> المعلومات حيا قديما والدليل <sup>٨٠</sup>

على ذلك انه لو كان معه قديم ثان <sup>٨١</sup> يشاركه في هذه الصفات التي

قدمنا ذكرها لوجب ان يكون مثلا له تعالى . ولا يجوز ان يكون لله

تعالى مثل <sup>٨٢</sup> لانه لو كان مثل له تعالى ثم قدرنا ان احدهما اراد

ايجاد جسم <sup>٨٣</sup> ساكنا واراد الآخر ايجاده متحركا لم يخل الحال

الاجسام والالوان ٠٠ " و " للعين ولا شك ان هذه العوانع لا تمنع الا من  
روية ٠٠٠ ( ٦٨ ) هـ و . بيانه وقد ٠٠٠ ( ٦٩ ) و ؛ جاز ( ٧٠ ) هـ و فيجب

ان لا نراه ( ٧١ ) ب . مستغرق ( ٧٢ ) و . فثبت بهذه الجملة ( ٧٣ ) و .  
لا يجوز ان يرى لا في الدنيا ولا ٠٠ ( ٧٤ ) و . له يشاركه ( ٧٥ ) ب . و

المتفرد ( ٧٦ ) و . الالهية وهي كونه ٠٠ ( ٧٧ ) هـ . والكمال على حد لا



- ١- اما ان يوجد ما اراداه<sup>٨٤</sup> ما فيكون الجسم متحركا ساكنا في حالة واحدة وذلك محال واما ان لا يوجد ما اراداه ؛ فيخلو الجسم<sup>٨٥</sup>
- ٣- من الحركة والسكون معا وذلك محال وفيه دليل على عجزهما من حيث لم يوجد ما اراداه وذلك محال ايضا؛ واما ان يوجد مراد احدهما ولا يوجد مراد الآخر<sup>٨٦</sup> ففيه دليل على عجزه من حيث لم يوجد ما اراده<sup>٨٧</sup> وذلك محال ايضا وقد ادى الى هذه المحالات القول<sup>٨٨</sup>
- ٦- بالقديم الثاني فيجب القضاء بفساده ويدل على ذلك<sup>٨٩</sup> " قل هو الله احد " (١١٢ : ١) وقوله " وما من اله الا اله واحد " (٧٦ : ٥)
- ٩- فآخبرنا تعالى انه لا اله غيره وخبره تعالى يجب ان يكون مصدقا<sup>٩٠</sup>

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يشاركه فيها مشارك وهي ٠٠ (٧٨) هـ . الجميع (٧٩) ب؛ هـ و . اعيان (٨٠) ح . والدليل على انه واحد انه ٠٠ ؛ و . والدليل على ان الله تعالى واحد ٠٠٠ (٨١) ح . بان شاركه (٨٢) و . مثل ولو كان له تعالى مثل ثم قدرنا . (٨٣) ب؛ و . جسم متحرك واراد الآخر ايجاد ساكنا ؛ هـ . جسم متحرك والآخر اراده ساكنا . (٨٤) و . ما اراداه فيكون الجسم ٠٠٠ (٨٥) و . محال ايضا (٨٦) ب؛ و . ففي ذلك . (٨٧) ب؛ و . لا يوجد . (٨٨) ب . ما اراد .

١- فهذه جملة ما يلزم المكلف معرفته من مسائل التوحيد •

## العدل

٣- ( ١٨ ١ ) واما مسائل العدل فهي عشر مسائل •

المسألة الاولى • ان الله تعالى عدل حكيم <sup>٩٢</sup> وحقيقة العدل الذي

لا يفعل القبيح كالظلم والعبث والكذب وما اشبه ذلك ولا يخل بالواجب

٦- وافعاله كلها حسنة والربيل على ان الله تعالى عدل حكيم انه قد

ثبت انه تعالى عالم <sup>٩٣</sup> بقبح القبائح <sup>٩٤</sup> وغنى عن فعلها وعالم <sup>٩٤</sup> باستغنائها

عنها وعن الاخلال بالواجب وكل من علم قبح القبيح واستغنى <sup>٩٥</sup> عن فعله <sup>٩٦</sup>

٩- وعلم <sup>٩٧</sup> باستغنائها عنه <sup>٩٨</sup> عنه فانه لا يفعله <sup>٩٩</sup> لا محالة وهذا معلوم <sup>١٠٠</sup> ففى

الشاهد عند كل عاقل ( ١٨ ب ) واذا ثبت ان الله تعالى اعلم العلماء

( ٨٩ ) و • ذلك قوله تعالى ١٠٠ هـ • ذلك قوله تعالى " وما من اله الا

اله واحد " وقوله تعالى " قل هو الله احد " ( ٩٠ ) و • واخبر •

( ٩١ ) ب • هـ • و • صدقا • ( ٩٢ ) د • العدل هو ( ٩٣ ) ب • ح • و

القبيح ( ٩٤ ) ح • فعله • ب • و • فعله وعن الاخلال بالواجب

( ٩٥ ) هـ • فاستغنى • ( ٩٦ ) ح • د • فعله وعن الاخلال بالواجب

فانه لا • • • ( ٩٧ ) و • وعلم بذلك فانه ( ٩٨ ) هـ • عنه وعن الاخلال

بالواجب •

١- بقبح القبيح واغنى الاغنيا عن فعلها وجب ان لا يفعل شيئا منها

١٠١ ثبت ان الله تعالى عدل حكيم .

٣- المسألة الثانية . ان افعال العباد<sup>١٠٢</sup> حسننها وقبيحها منهم لا من

الله تعالى ( ١٩ ١ ) والدليل على ذلك انها لو كانت من الله

سبحانه وتعالى لم يحسن امرهم بالطاعات منها ولا نهاهم عن

٦- المعاصي كما ان الوانهم<sup>١٠٣</sup> وصورهم لما كانت خلقا<sup>١٠٤</sup> لله فيهم لم يحسن

امرهم بشيء منها ولا نهاهم عن شيء منها فلما علمنا ان الله سبحانه

قد امرهم بالطاعات ونهاهم عن المعاصي دل ذلك على ان افعالهم<sup>١٠٥</sup>

٩- منهم لا من الله تعالى . وقد اضاف الله تعالى افعال العباد اليهم

١٠٦  
في كتابه الكريم فقال تعالى . . " جزاء بما كانوا يعملون " ( ٣٢ : ١٧ )

( ٩٩ ) ح د و . لا يفعل القبيح ولا يخل بالواجب ؛ ه . لا  
يفعل القبيح . ( ١٠٠ ) د . فاذا ( ١٠١ ) ب . ثبت بهذه الجملة

( ١٠٢ ) د . العباد منهم لا من الله . ( ١٠٣ ) و . الوانهم لما .

( ١٠٤ ) ه . خلق الله تعالى ( ١٠٥ ) ه . افعال العباد . ( ١٠٦ )

ح . حيث قال تعالى . . .



١- ٤٦ : ١٤ م ( ٥٦ : ٢٤ ) وقال " هل تجزون الا بما كنتم

تكسبون " ( ١٠ : ٥٢ ) وقال تعالى " وتخلقون افكا " ( ٢٩ : ١٠٧

٣- ١٧ ) وقال تعالى " لم تقولون ما لا تفعلون " ( ٦١ : ٢ ) الى

غير ذلك من الايات وكل ذلك يدل على انها منهم لا من الله تعالى  
١٠٧

المسألة الثالثة . ان الله تعالى لا يثيب احد الا بعمله ( ١٩ ب )  
١٠٨

٦- ولا يعذبه الا بذنبه والدليل على ( ذلك ) ان المجازاة بالثواب

لمن لا يستحقه يكون قبيحا من حيث انه يكون تعظيما لمن لا يستحق

التعظيم ولا شك ان تعظيم من لا يستحق التعظيم قبيح عند كل

٩- عاقل . ( وكذلك المجازاة بالعقاب لمن لا يستحقه يكون قبيحا من

حيث انه يكون ظلما<sup>١٠٩</sup> ) ولا شك ان الظلم قبيح عند كل عاقل ؛ وقد

ثبت ان الله تعالى لا يفعل القبيح على ما تقدم بيانه فثبت ان

١٢- الله تعالى لا يثيب احدا الا بعمله ولا يعاقبه الا بذنبه وقد قال

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( ١٠٧ ) ح . على عمله ( ١٠٨ ) ب ؛ د ؛ ه . يعاقبه . ( ١٠٩ )

كذا في " د " وفي " ب ؛ ه " . كذلك فان المجازاة بالعقاب . . .

١- تعالى • " ولا تزر وازرة وزر اخرى " ( ٦ : ١٦٤ ) " وان

ليس للانسان الا ما سعى " ( ٥٣ : ٣٩ ) •

٣- المسألة الرابعة ان الله تعالى لا يقضى بالمعاصي ( ٢٠ : ١ ) والدليل

على ذلك ان لفظة القضاء مشتركة بين<sup>١١٠</sup> معان ثلاثة احدها بمعنى

الخلق والتمام ؛ قال تعالى • " فقضاهن سبع سموات في يومين "

٦- ( ٤١ : ١٢ ) معناه اتم خلقهن ؛ وثانيها الاخبار والاعلام ؛ قال

تعالى • " وقضينا الى بنى اسرائيل في الكتاب لتفسدن في الارض •

مرتين " ( ١٧ : ٤ ) معناه اخبرنا بحالهم ؛ وثالثها بمعنى الامر

والالزام ؛ قال تعالى " وقض ربك الا تعبدوا الا اياه "

٩- ( ١٧ : ٢٣ ) معناه امر والنم ؛ ولا يجوز ان تكون المعاصي بقضاء الله

١١١

تعالى بمعنى الخلق ؛ لانه لو خلقها فيهم لما حسن منه تعالى

ان يعاقبهم على شيء منها كما ان الوانهم لما كانت خلقا لله

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• وكذلك المجازاة بالعذاب • ( ١١٠ ) حم د • بين ثلاثة معان •

( ١١١ ) ب • لم يحسن منه •

١- تعالى فيهم لم يحسن منه تعالى ان يعاقبهم عليها ولا يجوز

١١٣

ان تكون المعاصي من قضاائه<sup>١١٢</sup> بمعنى الامر بها لانها قبيحة والله

٢- تعالى لا يأمر بالقبيح وقد قال تعالى • " قل ان الله تعالى

لا يأمر بالفحشاء اتقولون على الله ما لا تعلمون " ( ٢٨ • ٤ )

وهذا لا يقال الا للمبطل وقد قال تعالى " والله يقضى بالحق "

١١٤

٦- ولا شك ان ( الامر بالمعاصي ) باطل فلا يجوز ان يكون<sup>١١٥</sup> من

قضاؤه تعالى •

المسألة الخامسة • ان الله تعالى لا يكلف احدا من عباده

٩- ما لا يطيقه<sup>١١٦</sup> ( ١٢١ ) والدليل على ذلك ان تكليف ما لا يطاق

قبيح عند كل عاقل وقد ثبت ان الله تعالى لا يفعل القبيح وقد<sup>١١٧</sup>

قال الله تعالى " لا يكلف الله نفسا الا وسعها " ( ٢٨٦ • ٢ )

( ١١٢ ) ح بقضائه ( ١١٣ ) و • قبيحة والامر بالقبيح قبيح •

( ١١٤ ) كذا في " ح " وفي " و " ان القضاء بالمعاصي • ( ١١٥ )

ب • يكون بقضاء الله وقدره • ( ١١٦ ) و • يطيق ( ١١٧ ) ب

د • ه • القبيح على ما تقدم بيانه )



١- والوسع دون الطاقة فثبت ان الله تعالى لا يكلف احدا من عباده

١١٨  
ما لا يطيقه •

١١٩

٣- المسألة السادسة ١ ان جميع الامراض والاسقام والنقائص من فعل

١٢٠

الله تعالى وانها حكمة ونبأ والدليل على انها من فعل الله

١٢١

تعالى انها محدثة لانها من جملة الاعراض الضرورية وقد ثبت

١٢٣

١٢٢

٦- ان الاعراض محدثة (٢١ ب) واذا ثبت ان الاعراض محدثة فلا بد

لها من محدث وهو الله تعالى لانه لا يقدر على فعل الاعراض الضرورية

١٢٤

الا الله تعالى واذا ثبت انها فعل الله تعالى وجب ان تكون

٩- حكمة وصوابا لانه قد ثبت انه تعالى عدل حكيم والحكيم لا يفعل

١٢٥

الا الحكمة والصواب ولا بد فيها من العوض والاعتبار والا كانت قبيحة

ويدل على ثبوت العوض من جهة السمع قول النبي صلى الله عليه

(١١٨) ب • يطيق (١١٩) و • الامراض والنقائص من فعل الله •

(١٢٠) ه • افعال • (١٢١) ح • وقد بينا (١٢٢) ه • ان هذه

(١٢٣) ب • فلا بد من محدث • (١٢٤) ه • انها من فعل •

(١٢٥) ح • الاعراض • والتعويض

- ١- وعلى آله وسلم • يتمنى اهل البلاء فى الآخرة لو كان الله زادهم  
 ١٢٦ ١٢٧
- بلاء لعظم ما اعد لهم فى الآخرة ويدل على ثبوت الاعتبار فى
- ٣- هذه الامراض قوله تعالى • " او لا يؤمن انهم يفتنون فى كل  
 عام مرة او مرتين ثم لا يتوبون ولا هم يذكرون " ( ١٢٦ • ٩ ) ( ١٢٢ )  
 ١٢٨
- والمراد بالفتنة المذكورة فى هذه الآية الامتحان بالمرض وغيره ، فاخبر  
 ١٢٩
- ٦- الله تعالى انه يمحضهم بها وان غرضه ان يتوبوا وان يذكروا •  
 ١٣٠
- المسألة السابعة ان الله لا يريد شيئا من معاصي العباد ولا يحبها  
 ١٣١
- ولا يرضاها والدليل على ذلك ان الله لو اراد شيئا منها لما احسن  
 ١٣٢ ١٣٣ ١٣٤ ١٣٥
- ٩- منه ( ان ) يعذبهم عليه كما انه تعالى لو اراد منهم الطاعة  
 ١٣٦
- لم يحسن منه ان يعذبهم على فعلها بل وجب عليه ان يشيهم على  
 ١٣٧ ١٣٨
- فعلهم للطاعات ( ٢٢ ب ) لما بينا من انه تعالى لا يخل بشئ من

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( ١٢٦ ) ه • بلاء فى الدنيا • ب • بلاء فى الدنيا الى بلاءهم ( ١٢٧ ) ب •  
 الاعتبار قوله تعالى ١٠٠٠ ح • الاعهار فى هذه الاعراض • و الاعتبار  
 بهذه الالام • ( ١٢٨ ) د الامتحان بهذه الامراض وغيرها • و الامتحانات  
 بالامراض وغيرها ( ١٢٩ ) ب • يتوبوا ويذكروا ( ١٣٠ ) ب • ح • د • ولا

١- الواجبات وقد قال الله تعالى " وما الله يريد ظلماً للمباد " .

( ٤٠ ٣١٠ ) وقال تعالى • " ولا يرضى لعباده الكفر " ( ٣٩ ٧٠ )

٣- وقال تعالى • " والله لا يحب الفساد " ٢ • ( ٢٠٥ )

١٣٩ ١٤٠

المسألة الثامنة ان القرآن الذى بيننا كلام الله تعالى ووحىه

وتنزيله ( ٢٣ ١ ) والدليل على ذلك ان المعلوم ضرورة من

٦- دين النبى صلعم انه كان يخبر ان القرآن الذى جاء به كلام

١٤٢

١٤١

الله تعالى وانه ليس بكلام له صلعم وهو صلعم لا يخبر الا بالصدق

على ما نبينه وقد قال الله تعالى " وان احد من المشركين

٩- استجارك فاجره حتى يسمع كلام الله " ( ٩ ٦٠ ) ولا شك ان

١٤٣

الذى سمعه المشركون من النبى صلعم هو الذى بيننا والذى نتلوه •

يرضاه ولا يحبه • ه • ولا يرضاها ولا يحبها • و • ولا يحبه ولا

يرضاه • ( ١٣١ ) ب • من هذه لما • ( ١٣٢ ) عن جميع النسخ الاخرى

( ١٣٣ ) ب • على فعلها ( ١٣٤ ) ح • د • ه • و • لما ( ١٣٥ ) ح • د • ه •

و • الطاعات ( ١٣٦ ) و • عليها ( ١٣٧ ) ه • الطاعات ( ١٣٨ ) ب • ه • و •

بيننا انه ( ١٣٩ ) و • القرآن العظيم ( ١٤٠ ) و • بيننا ونتلوه •

( ١٤١ ) ح • بكلامه • ( ١٤٢ ) ب • بالصدق ولا يدين الا بالحق • ( ١٤٣ )

د • المشرك •



١- المسألة التاسعة <sup>١٤٤</sup> أن هذا القرآن محدث غير قديم • والدليل

على ذلك انه مرتب منطوق يوجد بعضه في اثربعض ٢ وذلك معلوم  
١٤٥ ١٤٦ ١٤٧

٣- ضرورة ٢ الا ترى ان قوله " الحمد لله رب العالمين حروف قد

قدم بعضها على بعض وما تقدمه غيره وجب ان يكون محدثا لان القديم

لا يجوز ان يتقدم عليه غيره ويدل على ذلك قوله تعالى " ما يأتيهم

٦- من ذكر من ربهم محدث الا استمعوه وهم يلعبون " ( ٢١ : ٢ )

١٤٨

فوصف الله تعالى الذكر وهو القرآن بانه محدث ٢ ولا شك ان الله

تعالى هو الذى احده لانه قد ثبت انه كلامه ٢ والكلام فعل

٩- المتكلم فثبت بهذه الجملة ان القرآن الكريم محدث غير قديم •

( ٢٣ ب ) • المسألة العاشرة • ان محمدا صلى الله عليه وسلم

نبي صادق • ( ١٢٤ ) والدليل على ذلك ان المعجز الذى هو

القرآن شرفه الله تعالى قد ظهر على يديه عقيب دعوى النبوة

( ١٤٤ ) ب ١ د • ان القرآن ( ١٤٥ ) د ٢ و • ضرورة فان قوله ...

١- وذلك معلوم ضرورة عود كل من بحث عن اخبار النبي صلّم فإنه

يعلم ان محمدا صلّم جاء بالقرآن وتحدى العرب الذين هم

٣- النهاية في الفصاحة ان يأتوا بمثله او يعترفوا بصدقه فيما ادعاه

١٤٩

ولا شك ان العرب لم يأتوا بمثله ( منه ) مما تحداهم به

صلّم • بل عدلوا الى محاربه لما لم يقدروا على معارضته

١٥٠

١٥١

٦- فثبت بهذه الجملة ان القرآن معجز قد ظهر على يديه صلّم واذا

ثبت ذلك ثبت صدق محمد صلّم فيما ادعاه من النبوة لانه لو كان

كاذبا لما صرّقه الله تعالى بالمعجز الذي هو القرآن لان ذلك

١٥٢

٩- يكون تصديقا للكاذب وذلك قبيح والله تعالى لا يفعل القبيح كما

١٥٣

تقدم بيان ذلك في اول مسائل العدل • ( ٢٤ ب ) فثبت بهـ

( ١٤٦ ) هـ • الى ( ١٤٧ ) ب • هـ • و • حروف قد تقدم • • • • • حـ

د حروف تقدم • ( ١٤٨ ) ح • د • هـ • و • محدث واذا ثبت انه

محدث فلا شك ان • • • ( ١٤٩ ) في جميع النسخ : بشى • • ( ١٥٠ )

ب • فثبت بذلك ان • • ( ١٥١ ) هـ • و • فاذا ( ١٥٢ ) ح • د • هـ

و • لما ( ١٥٣ ) ح • هـ بيانه ( ١٥٤ ) • • • • • ( ١٥٥ )

انخيرنا

١٥٦ ١٥٥

١٥٤

١- الجملة نبوة محمد صللم ووجب علينا تصديقه فيما اخبر به من

١٥٧

نبوة غيره من الانبياء عليهم السلام وموافقته ومتابعته فيما جاء به

٣- من الاحكام فهذه جملة ما يلزم المكلف معرفته من مسائل العدل •

### الوعد والوعيد

واما مسائل الوعد والوعيد فهي عشر مسائل •

٦- المسألة الاولى ان من وعده الله بالثواب من المؤمنين فانه متى

١٦٠

١٥٨ ١٥٩

متى مات مستقيما على ايمانه صائر الى الجنة لا محالة ومخلد

فيها خلودا دائما في ثواب لا ينقطع •

٩- المسألة الثانية ان من توعده الله تعالى بالعقاب من الكفار فانه

١٦١

متى مات مصرا على كفره صائر الى النار لا محالة ومخلد فيها

١٦٢

خلودا دائما •

(١٥٤) ح • فوجب (١٥٥) و • اخبرنا (١٥٦) ح = ه • من نبوته ونبوة

غيره (١٥٧) ح • من سائر (١٥٨) ح د • مات على ايمانه (١٥٩)

ب • مستمسكا (١٦٠) ح • صار (١٦١) ب • النار ومخلد • (١٦٢)

د • دائما في عقاب دائم ه • دائما في عذاب دائم و • دائما في

عقاب لا ينقطع •



١- (١٢٥) والدليل على صحة ما ذهبنا اليه في هاتين المسألتين

١٦٤

ان المعلوم ضرورة من دين النبي صلى الله عليه وآله وسلم انه

١٦٦

١٦٥

٣- كان يدعو الخلق الى طاعة الله ويعددهم على ذلك الجنة التي عرضها

السماوات والارض اعدت للمتقين ويتوعد من خالفه وكفر بما جاء به

١٦٧

بالنار التي وقودها الناس والحجارة اعدت للكافرين وقد ثبت انه

٦- صلح لا يدين الا بالحق ولا يخبر الا بالصدق فصح ما ذهبنا

١٦٨

اليه في هاتين المسألتين •

١٦٩

المسألة الثالثة ان من توعد الله بالمعقاب من الفساق فانه متى

٩- مات مصرا على فسقه فانه يدخله النار ويدخله فيها خلودا دائما •

والدليل (٢٥ ب) على ذلك قوله تعالى " ومن يعص الله ورسوله فان

(١٦٣) ح • نذهب • (١٦٤) ه • محمد • و • الرسول (١٦٥) د •

ه • طاعته ويعددهم (١٦٦) ب • بالجنة (١٦٧) ح • وقد بينا • (١٦٨)

ب • المسألتين والحمد لله • (١٦٩) ب • و • فان الله •

١- له نار جهنم خالد بين فيها ابدا " (٢٣:٧٢) ولا شك ان :

١٧٠

الفاسق من جملة من عصي الله تعالى فيجب ان يدخله النار ويخلده

٣- فيها لان الله تعالى لا يخبر الا بالصدق وقد قال تعالى ....

" ما يبدل القول لدى وما انا بظلام للعبيد " (٢٩: ٥٠) .

المسألة الرابعة ان اصحاب الكبائر من هذه الامة كشارب الخمر

١٧١

٦- والزاني ومن جرى مجراها يسمون فاسقا ولا يسمون كفارا كما هو

قول الخواجه (١٢٦) لانهم لو كانوا كفارا لما جاز دفنهم في مقابر

١٧٢

المسلمين ولا مناكحتهم ولا هوارثتهم فلما علمنا ان ذلك كله جائز

١٧٤

١٧٣

٩- دل ذلك على انهم لا يجوز ان يسموا ( عنه ) كفارا ولا يجوز

١٧٦

١٧٥

ان يسموا مؤمنين كما نقوله المرجحة لان المؤمن في الشريعة

١٧٧

يجب مدحه وتعظيمه والفاسق لا يجوز مدحه ولا تعظيمه فلا

(١٧٠) ب . اريد ان يدخل النار وان يخلد . (١٧١) ب . ح . ه . و

كما نقوله الخواجه (١٧٢) و . ذلك جائز كله (١٧٣) ه . لا يسمون

(١٧٤) ب . د . و . يسموا (١٧٥) ه . نقوله الاشعرية . (١٧٦) د .

الشريعة الشريفة . ب . الشرع الشريف . (١٧٧) ه . ولا يجوز . د .

فلم يجوز (١٧٧) ب . ه . ولا كفارة

١- يجوز ان يسمى مؤمنا ؛ فلم يبق الا انهم يسمون فساقا ولا يجوز

١٧٨

ان يطلق عليهم اسم الكفر والايمان •

١٧٩-

٣- المسألة الخامسة ان شفاعة النبي صللم يوم القيامة ثابتة قطعا ( ٢٦ ب )

ولا تكون الا لمن يدخل الجنة فيزيدهم الله نعيما الى نعيمهم وسرورا الى

سرورهم • والدليل على ذلك قوله تعالى • " ما للظالمين من حميم ولا

٦- شفيع يطاع " ( ٤٠-١٨ ) ولا شك ان الفاسق ظالم بلا خلاف بين

امة محمد صللم فلا يجوز ان يشفع النبي صللم لاحد من الفساق ؛ واذا

١٨٠

لم يجوز ان يشفع لهم لم تبق شفاعته صللم الا للمؤمنين وكذلك قوله تعالى

٩- " وما للظالمين من انصار " ( ٢ : ٢٧٠ ) فلا يجوز ان يشفع لاحد منهم لانه

لو شفع لاحد منهم لكان نصرة لهم وذلك لا يجوز لانه يكون تكديبا لكلام

الله تعالى •

المسألة السادسة انه يجب على المكلف ان يأمر بالمعروف وينهى

( ١٧٧ + ) ب • مؤمنا ولا كافرا ( ١٧٨ ) ب ؛ د ؛ هـ • الكفر ولا الايمان ؛

ح • الكفر ولا اسم الايمان ( ١٧٩ ) ب • النبي لا تكون الا لمن يدخل الجنة

فيزيدهم • • • د • النبي لا تكون يوم القيامة الا • • • ( ١٨٠ ) ب ؛ د

هـ • للمؤمنين وقد قال تعالى • • • ( ١٨١ ) ب • فلو شفع النبي لاحد من

الظالمين لكان ؛ ح • فلو شفع النبي لاحد منهم لكان ؛ هـ • فلو شفع النبي لاحد منهم لكان ذلك



١٨٤

١٨٣ ١٨٢

١- عن المنكر متى قدر على ذلك ، ولم يكن امره ونهيه يؤدى الى

فعل منكر غير الذى نهى عنه او ترك معروف غير الذى امر به

٣- ( ٢٧ ب ) ، والدليل على ذلك قول الله تعالى . " ولتكن منكم

امة يدعون الى الخير ويأمرون بالمعروف وينهون عن المنكر واولئك

هم المفلحون " ( ٣ . ١٠٣ ) . ووجه الاستدلال بهذه الآية

٦- ان الله تعالى امر ان يكون فينا من يأمر بالمعروف وينهى عن المنكر

وما امر الله تعالى به كان واجبا لا يجوز تركه لقوله تعالى . . . .

" فليحذر الذين يخالفون عن امره ان تصيبهم فتنة او يصيبهم عذاب

٩- اليم " ( ٢٤ . ٦٣ ) ، ولا شك ان العذاب لا يصيب الا

١٨٧

١٨٦

من ترك ما اوجب الله تعالى عليه او فعل ما نهاه عنه .

١٨٨

المسألة السابعة . ان الامام بعد النبي صلعم هو على بن ابي

و . فلو شفع النبي لاحد من الفساق لكان ذلك . ( ١٨٢ ) هـ . ولا .

( ١٨٣ ) ب . ح . د . امره ولا نهيه . ( ١٨٤ ) ب . د . هـ . الى

منكر . " ح . د . و " . الى منكر آخر او ترك معروف . ( ١٨٥ ) ب

العذاب الاليم . ( ١٨٦ ) هـ . ما اوجبه ( ١٨٧ ) ب . هـ ما نهى .

( ١٨٨ ) ب . بعد النبي على . و . بعد رسول الله على .

- ١ - طالب عليم ( ٢٨ ١ ) والدليل على امامته قول النبي صلعم يوم غدیر خم وقد اجتمع اليه اصحابه • الست اولى بكم من انفسكم ؟
- ٣ - قالوا بلى يا رسول الله • قال • فمن كنت مولاه فعلى مولاه ؛ اللهم والى من والاه وعاد من عاداه وانصر من نصره واخذل من خذله • وجه الاستدلال بهذا الخبر على امامته عليم ان النبي ١٩٠
- ٦ - صلعم جعله مولى للكافة كنفسه والمولى هو المالك للتصرف كما يقال • • ١٩٢ ١٩١٣
- هذا مولى الدار ويراد به الذى يملك التصرف فيها • فاذا ثبت ان ١٩١٤
- عليا عليم مالك التصرف على الامة كان اماما لان الامام هو الذى ١٩١٥ ١٩١٦
- ٩ - يملك التصرف على الناس بحكم الله تعالى • فثبت بذلك امامته ١٩١٧
- عليه وانه احق بالامر ممن تقدم عليه من الصحابة •

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( ١٨٩ ) هـ • على ذلك قول ( ١٩٠ ) هـ • امامة على • ( ١٩١ ) هـ • ب • لكافة المسلمين • ( ١٩٢ ) و • به مالك التصرف ( ١٩٣ ) هـ • و • اذا • ( ١٩٤ ) ب • للتصرف ( ١٩٥ ) ب • د • هـ • و • بامر ( ١٩٦ ) د • امامة على ( ١٩٧ ) د • احق بالامامة •

١ — ( ٢٩ ) المسألة الثامنة ان الامام بعد علي عليم ابنه الحسن

عليه السلام •

٣ — المسألة التاسعة ان الامام بعد الحسن اخوه الحسين بن علي عليهم

السلام ( ٣٠ ) والدليل على صحة ما ذهبنا اليه في هاتين المسألتين

قول النبي صلعم • الحسن والحسين امامان قاما او قعدا وابوهما خير

٦ — منهما • وهذا الخبر يدل على ثبوت الامامة لهما عليم في كل وقت

١٩٨ ١٩٩ ٢٠٠ ٢٠١

الا انا اخرجنا زمن النبي صلعم باجماع الامة فان الامة اجمعت على

٢٠٢

انه لم يكن لهما ولا لغيرهما امر في زمن النبي صلعم • وكذلك

٩ — لم يكن لهما ولا لغيرهما امر في زمن ابيهما علي عليم • وكذلك لم

٢٠٤ ٢٠٥

يكن للحسين عليم امر في زمن اخيه الحسن عليم بالاجماع • فبقى

( ٨٨ ) هـ • نخرج ( ١٩٩ ) هـ • زمان ( ٢٠٠ ) ب • و • صلعم وزمن

ابيهما باجماع ٢٠٠٠ هـ • د • هـ • صلعم وزمان ابيهما باجماع •

( ٢٠١ ) ب • فانهم اجمعوا ( ٢٠٢ ) د • زمان ( ٢٠٣ ) ب • صلعم

ولا في زمن ابيهما • د • ولا في زمان ابيهما • هـ • ولا كان لهما

امر في زمان ابيهما عليم بالاجماع ايضا • ( ٢٠٤ ) هـ • زمان •

( ٢٠٥ ) و • وقي •



١ - ما عدا ذلك من الازمنة داخلا تحت النص المذكور من النبي صلى

٢٠٧

الله عليه وسلم ثبت بذلك امامتهما عليهما السلام على هذا الترتيب

٢٠٨

٣ - المذكور ، وانهما احق بالامر من اخذه عليهما كعاقبة ويزيد

لعنهما الله تعالى لعنا وبلا •

٢٠٩

المسألة العاشرة • ان الامام ( ع ) بعد الحسن والحسين عليهما

٢١٠

٦ - السلام فيمن قام ودعا الخلق الى طاعة الله تعالى وكان من ولد

٢١٢

٢١١

الحسن والحسين عليهما السلام ، وهو جامع لخصال الامة ( ٣٠ ب )

٢١٣

التي هي العلم بما تحتاج اليه الامة في امور دينها ودنياها •

٢١٤

٩ - والورع ما حرم الله عليه • والفضل في الدين بحيث يكون افضل اهل

زمانه او من جملة افاضلهم والسخاء بوضع الحقوق في مواضعها التي

( ٢٠٦ ) ب • د • ه • النص من النبي • ( ٢٠٧ ) ه • الترتيب قائمهما

احق • ( ٢٠٨ ) د • منهما • ( ٢٠٩ ) جميع النسخ • ان الامة

( ٢١٠ ) ه • اولاد • ب • اولاهما وهو جامع • ( ٢١١ ) و • السلام

وكان جامعا • ( ٢١٢ ) د • الامة ( ٢١٣ ) ب • امور دينها ودنياها •

( ٢١٤ ) و • امر دينها والورع • ( ٢١٤ ) ب • حرم • ه • و • عما

١ - امر الله بهاء والشجاعة بحيث يكون معه من قوة القلب ما

يصلح معه لجهاد اعداء الله تعالى ، والقوة على تدبير امر الامة

٢١٦

٣ - بحيث يكون سليما في بدنه من آفات المانعة له من القيام بامر

٢١٨

٢١٧

الله كالعمى وغيره ، ويجب ان يكون معه من جودة الرأى

٢١٩

وحسن التدبير ما يصلح ان يفرغ اليه في المشورة والرأى السديد .

٢٢٠

٦ - ولا خلاف بين الامة ان الامام يجب ان يجمع هذه الخصال

٢٢١

المذكورة ومتى كملت فيه ودعا الخلق الى طاعة الله سبحانه ،

٢٢٢ ٢٢٣

وجب عليهم اجابته والجهاد معه ، والدليل على ذلك قول النبي

٢٢٤

٩ - صلّم . من سمع واعيتنا اهل البيت فلم يجيبها كبه الله على

٢٢٦

٢٢٥

منخره في نار جهنم ، وانما حصرنا الامة في اولاد الحسن

(٢١٥) هـ . من رباطة الجأش ما . . (٢١٦) و . المانعة من هـ .

المانعة عن (٢١٧) و . كالعمى والصمم وغير ذلك (٢١٨) و . الرأى ما

يصلح ان . . . (٢١٩) هـ . يصلح معه ، حـ . يصلح ان يرجع .

(٢٢٠) حـ د . في ان . (٢٢١) بـ حـ و . فمتى تكاملت

(٢٢٢) بـ د و . إجابة دعوته . (٢٢٣) بـ . للجهاد . (٢٢٤)

بـ هـ . ولم . (٢٢٥) هـ . منخره (٢٢٦) حـ هـ . ولداً و .

اولاد الحسين .

١ - والحسين عليهما السلام لان الامة قد اجمعت ( ٣١ ب ) على جوازها  
٢٢٧

فيهم واختلفت فيمن سواهم بعد بطلان قول الامامية بالنص على  
٢٢٨ ٢٢٩

٣ - جماعة من ولد الحسين عليهم لانه لو كان ما ادعوه من النص صحيحا

لوجب ان يكون ظاهرا مشهورا عند جميع المكلفين فلما لم يكن معلوما  
وجب نفيه ، ثبت ان الامة قد اجمعت على جوازها فيهم واختلفت  
٢٣٠

٦ - فيمن سواهم ، فقالت المعتزلة ان الامة جائزة ( ٣٢ ا ) ففى

جميع قریش ، وقالت الخوارج انها جائزة فى جميع الناس ،

ولا شك ان اولاد الحسن والحسين من خيار قریش ومن خيار  
٢٣١

٩ - الناس فقد اخذنا بما اجمعت عليه الامة وتركنا ما اختلفت  
٢٣٢ ٢٣٣

فيه لانه لا دليل عليه ، واجماع الامة حجة واجبة الاتباع لقول

- ( ٢٢٧ ) ح . واختلفوا ( ٢٢٨ ) ب ، ه . من اولاد ( ٢٢٩ ) ب .  
صريحا . ( ٢٣٠ ) ح . فى قریش ( ٢٣١ ) ب . ما خالفت . ( ٢٣٢ )  
ه . فيه الامة . ( ٢٣٣ ) و . لا حجة عليه .



- ١ - النبي صلعم • لن تجتمع امتي على ضلالة ، واذا لم تجتمع على ضلالة  
٢٣٤
- ٢ - كان ما اجمعت عليه هو الحق ، وقد اجمعت على جواز الامامة  
٢٣٥
- ٣ - في اولاد الحسن والحسين عليهما السلام •  
٢٣٦
- فهذه جملة مختصرة يلزم كل مكلف معرفتها وتدبر ادلتها ولا يجوز  
ان يقلد فيها ( ٣٢ ب ) لان التقليد في اصول الدين قبيح عند كل  
عاقل ، وقد قال صلعم • من اخذ دينه عن التفكير في الا اله الا الله  
٦ - وعن التدبر لكتابة والتفهم لسنتي زالت الرواسي ولم يزل ( ١٣٣ )  
٢٣٧ ٢٣٨
- ومن اخذ دينه عن افواه الرجال وقتلهم فيه ذهب (به) الرجال  
٩ - من يمين الى شمال ، وكان من دين الله على اعظم زوال ، وصدق  
رسول الله صلعم لان المكلف اذا قلد في اصول دينه لم يأمن  
ان يذهب به من طريق النجاة التي هي منزلة اسحاب اليمين الى
- 
- (٢٣٤) ب هـ و • هو الحجة والحق • (٢٣٥) ب • السلام قثبت  
ان الامامة محصورة في اولاد هـ و • قثبت بذلك ان الامامة محصورة في  
اولاد الحسنين عليهما السلام • ولم يدل ذلك على جوازها في غيرهم  
قثبت ان الامامة محصورة في اولاد الحسن والحسين هـ • ولم يرد دليل  
على جوازها في غيرهم قثبت •••

- ١ - طريق الهلاك التى هى منزلة اصحاب الشمال ، فيجب على كل  
مكلف ان ينظر فى صحة دينه لان النبى صلّم يقول •• من دق  
٣ - فى الدين نظره ، جل يوم القيامة خطره ، فنسأل الله ان يجعلنا  
من الذين يستمعون القول فيتبعون احسنه ، اولئك الذين هداهم  
الله ، واولئك هم اولو الالباب ، وآخر دعواهم ان الحمد لله  
رب العالمين •

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(٢٣٦) ب ، د ، و • مكلف ان يعرفها ويتدبر • (٢٣٧) ب ، ح ،  
هـ ، و • ذهبت (٢٣٨) كذا فى جميع النسخ •

APPENDIX B.

The Rise of KHĀRIJISM  
According to ABŪ SA'ĪD al-QALHĀTĪ.

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APPENDIX B.

(The caliphate of 'Alī according to al-Kashf 1  
 wa 'l-Bayān of Abū Sa'id Muḥammad b. Sa'id  
 al-Qalḥātī. Brit. Mus. Ms. OR. 2606) 3  
 F. 92 b. The caliphate of 'Alī:

The Muslims assembled in the mosque of the Prophet  
 and elected 'Alī on condition that he would observe 6  
 obedience to God, follow the Sunnah of the Prophet and  
 the examples of the two caliphs Abū Bakr and 'Umar.  
 'Alī refused to be nominated, at first, then accepted 9  
 at last, (f.93 a) and made a speech in which he under-  
 took to confiscate all that 'Uthman had taken from the  
 common property of the Muslims, and to put right all the 12  
 wrong he had done.

(f. 93 b.) The Muslims were not against the murder  
 of 'Uthmān as is suggested by the doubtful and hesitant 15  
 people among the Muslims. If they were against his murder  
 why did they not defend him? 'Uthmān was among them,  
 and was not secretly killed, but his house was encircled 18  
 for more than a month. (f.94 a). All the muslims were  
 agreed on killing him for the injustice and the innova-  
 tions he had done. Abū Bakr and 'Umar were not more 21  
 closely akin to the Prophet than 'Uthmān and 'Alī, but  
 their merit was based on their piety and their adherence

to the commands of God. But when 'Uthmān and 'Alī 1  
 abandoned the commands of the book of God and acted  
 contrary to the Sunnah of the Prophet, the Muslims 3  
 rose against them.

If the doubters state that they refrain from condemn-  
 ing them because of their former deeds and their close 6  
 relation to the Prophet, and if they say that 'Uthmān  
 and 'Alī are in Paradise, while their followers are in  
 Hell, it should be said to them that 'Uthmān and 'Alī 9  
 led the people to follow them and they did so, and who-  
 ever was killed from among them met his death following  
 the same religion as his leader. How then can 'Uthmān 12  
 and 'Alī be in Paradise and their followers in Hell?  
 If this happened according to the judgement of a man it  
 would be an injustice. How then can it be attributed 15  
 to God? Both the leaders and their followers are in  
 Hell, and moreover, the leaders will be responsible for  
 their own faults and the faults of their followers whom 18  
 they led astray.

F. 94 b. The Revolt of Ṭalhah,  
Zubayr and 'Ā'ishah.

21

When 'Alī became established (in authority),  
 Ṭalhah and Zubayr revolted against him. They went to 24  
 'Ā'ishah, the wife of the Prophet in her home and deceived  
 her by saying that 'Alī had seized the rule for himself  
 without the consent of the Muslims and before consulting



with them. (Uthmān, they said to her, was unfairly 1  
 killed after he had repented of his deeds. Thus, they  
 made her change her opinion of (Uthmān, after she had 3  
 been wont to attest that he became an unbeliever in the  
 Qur'ān. They persuaded her to go with them to (Iraq  
 so that she might put the question again in the hands 6  
 of the Muslims to decide what they wished. Thus they  
 came to Basrah seeking worldly profit after they had  
 witnessed (indifferently) the murder of (Uthmān and 9  
 entered into allegiance to (Alī. They were accompanied  
 by mischievous and ignorant people. Some of the Muslims  
 appealed to them in the name of God (to abandon this), 12  
 [f. 95 a) but they did not listen to them and killed  
 some of the Muslims.

#### The battle of the Camel. 15

When (Alī and the Muslims with him in Madinah heard  
 of these deeds, they had to come out to fulfil the  
 commands of God. Those who are not faithful to their 18  
 pledge have no religion. (Alī arrived at Kūfah accom-  
 panied by some of the Muslims, and there, they were  
 joined by some of the inhabitants of Kūfah. The battle 21  
 took place, Talḥah was killed on the field and Zubayr  
 fled, but was killed by (Amr b. Jurmūz. The camel of



'Ā'ishah was wounded. Victory was destined to the Muslims 1  
 and 'Ā'ishah repented of her deed. When 'Ammār b. Yāsir  
 asked her if she fought them in fullfilment of a wish of 3  
 the Prophet or was it her own opinion (f. 95 b) she said  
 that it was her own opinion and that she regretted it  
 and repented of it. Her repentance was accepted by the 6  
 Muslims and she returned to her home. The people of  
 Baṣrah agreed to obey 'Alī and thus he became fully ack-  
 nowledged by all the Muslims. 9

The revolt of Mu'āwiyah.

When 'Alī's authority became fully established, 12  
 Mu'āwiyah b. Abī Sufyān b. Ḥarb rose with the Syrians  
 and called the people to fight 'Alī and to revenge the  
 murder of 'Uthmān who, they said, was unfairly killed. 15  
 'Alī accompanied by the Muslims met Mu'āwiyah and his  
 followers at Siffīn and the two armies fought vigorously.  
 A great number of men were killed and it is said that 18  
 the number of the dead amounted to 70,000 and, on the  
 night called 'Laylatu 'l-Harīr' (1), 30,000 were killed.  
 Mu'āwiyah became afraid because of the increasingly 21  
 large numbers of fatal casualties among his followers  
 (F. 96 a) and consulted with 'Ammār b. ul-'Ās who advised  
 him to fix copies of the Qur'ān to the points of lances. 24

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(1) About Laylatu 'l-Harīr see: Ṭabarī, I, 3322.

Mu'āwiyah wrote to 'Alī secretly saying that the book  
 of God was the arbiter between the party of 'Alī and his  
 party and suggested that they should appoint two arbiters  
 and accept whatever judgement they might give. 'Ammār  
 b. Yāsir heard of this and said to his companions, "Go  
 to 'Alī and reproach him for this." 'Alī told them that  
 he was going to reject arbitration.

The murder of 'Ammār b. Yāsir

It was related to us that 'Ammār b. Yāsir said to  
 'Alī, "Those people will say to you, 'Between you and us  
 is the book of God'. Say to them, 'We have fought you  
 because you have abandoned the book of God'. They will  
 say to you, 'Let us appoint two arbiters between us and  
 let us accept whatever judgement they may give'. Say  
 to them, "Who can give better judgement than God for the  
 people whose faith is assured" (Q., 5, 55). If they  
 say, 'Let us appoint an armistice period in which to  
 negotiate peace', say to them, 'God Almighty has said,  
 (Fight the transgressors till they comply with the command  
 of God) (Q. 49, 9).

It was related to us that the Prophet said to  
 'Ammār b. Yāsir, "You will be killed by the unjust group.  
 Your murderer will go to Hell". It was related to us also



that during the construction of the mosque of Madinah, 1  
 each Muslim used to transport one brick at a time for the  
 building, while 'Ammār used to carry two bricks at a time 3  
 till he fainted as he was still convalescing from an illness  
 which ~~it~~ had befallen him.

(Other stories are related about the virtues of 'Ammār 6  
 b. Yāsir, as attested by the Prophet.)<sup>(1)</sup>

(F. 97a) At the time of his death 'Ammār said, "Is 9  
 there anyone who would like to go to Paradise before the  
 arbitration?" It was related to us that he reproached  
 'Alī and said to him, "You have made us doubtful of our  
 religion and put us in a bad position by causing us to 12  
 appoint our enemies as arbiters on our religion and our  
 blood. Was it not better to have taken such a step before  
 starting the war and before killing Ṭalhah and Zubayr who 15  
 asked you the same thing and you refused to consent saying  
 that you knew that you were right and that they were wrong.  
 If the people whom we are fighting were unbelievers and 18  
 Polytheists, we should not stop fighting them till they  
 embraced Islam. If they were the people of a revealed  
 religion we should fight them till they "paid the jizyah 21  
 with willing submission and feel themselves subdued".  
 (Qur'ān: 9, 29).

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(1)

Many of these traditions about 'Ammār are related in  
 his biography in *Ṭabaqāt Ibn Sa'd*.



If they were transgressors we should not stop  
fighting them " till they comply with God's command"  
(Que'ān: 49,9). 1 3

Then 'Ammār went out, accompanied by the Muslims  
who followed him and fought Mu'āwiyah till they fell as  
martyrs. Twenty five men of the Muhājirūn and the  
Ansār were killed with 'Ammār. 6

(F. 97 b) The two Arbiters, Abū Mūsā  
al-Ash'arī and 'Amr b. al-Ās. 9

Mu'āwiyah promised to give Egypt to 'Amr b. ul-Ās.  
as a source of gain. Correspondence continued secret-  
ly between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah. 'Alī wrote to Mu'āwiyah, 12  
"From the Prince of the faithful 'Alī ... " and  
Mu'āwiyah said to him that if he had known that he was  
the Prince of the faithful he would not have fought him, 15  
and demanded that 'Alī should omit this title and 'Alī  
agreed.

(F. 98a) When the Muslims learned of this they said to 18  
him, "O 'Alī! What induced you to deprive yourself of  
the name with which the Muslims have called you? Are you  
not the Prince of the faithful and Mu'āwiyah the Prince 21  
of the unbelievers? Repent of that which you have done.  
'Alī repented.

Mu'āwiyah continued to write to 'Alī about the 24  
arbitration. 'Alī chose from among his army

Abu Mūsā al-Ash'arī and Mu'āwiyah chose 'Amr b. ul-'Ās 1  
 who was the enemy of the Prophet and had composed a  
 satire of 90 couplets about him. 'Alī accepted such 3  
 a man as arbiter and left aside the judgement of the  
 Book of God. Surely, if arbitration had been right  
 'Alī must have perished for allowing blood to be shed in the 6  
 war that preceded arbitration, and Mu'āwiyah was more  
 just than he because he was the one who took the initiative.  
 And if arbitration had been wrong, 'Alī must have perished 9  
 for entering into it. In both cases 'Alī has no escape.  
 It was related after the Prophet that he said, "In my  
 community, there will be two arbiters who will go astray 12  
 and cause those who follow them to go astray".

The Separation of the people of Nahrawān,  
may God have mercy on and forgive them. 15

When the Muslims became certain that 'Alī was going  
 to arbitrate and that he had reverted to this decision  
 after repenting of it, they left him and went away taking 18  
 God for their arbiter. They are the missionaries of God  
 on earth who (F. 98b) command that which is right and  
 prohibit that which is wrong. Leaving 'Alī, they went 21  
 to a place near Kūfah, called Ḥarūrā and there assembled  
 10,000 of the best companions of the Prophet, the leaders  
 of the Muslims, their jurisprudents, readers of the Qur'ān 24



and learned men. Among them was 'Abdullāh b. Wahb 1  
 ar-Rāsibī who was the first Imam whom they nominated,  
 Hurqūs b. Zuhayr as-Sa'dī, Zayd b. Ḥusayn at-Ṭā'ī, 3  
 Ḥamzah b. Sinān al-Azdī as-Sulamī, and a number of the  
 Muhājirūn and the Anṣār. They assembled in the house of  
 'Abdullāh b. Wahb ar-Rāsibī and offered the Imamate to 6  
 Hurqūs b. Zuhayr, but he declined it. They offered it  
 to 'Abdullāh b. Wahb ar-Rāsibī, after they had passed it  
 from one to another. Ar-Rāsibī said, "Well, give it to 9  
 me. By God I do not accept it because of my love for  
 this world and I am not going to abandon it for fear of  
 death." 12

When 'Alī learned of the settling of those people  
 in Nahrawān, he sent someone to ask them to return to  
 him and this was after the two arbiters had met for 15  
 49 days in Dumat al-Jandal. When those men (the Khawārij)  
 left him and deserted his camp, he missed them and said,  
 "Why do I not hear the reading of the Qur'ān as I used to 18  
 do before?" He was told, "The readers have left your  
 camp".

When Mu'āwiyah learned that the people of Nahrawān 21  
 had separated from 'Alī, he sent to him saying: "I  
 heard that some of your followers disobeyed you and left  
 your army. Things cannot get settled by us alone in the 24  
 presence of a third contestant. (F. 99 a) If you would



like me to fight them for you, I will". (Alī wanted 1  
to accept this proposition, but he was advised not to  
do so, and to march on them suddenly before the assembling 3  
of their partisans from the different districts.

The meeting of the Two Arbiters.

The two arbiters met in Dūmat al-Jandal. Abū Mūsā 6  
al-Ash'arī rejected his man (Alī and (Amr b. ul-Ās  
confirmed the nomination of Mu'āwiyah. When (Alī learned  
of this, he repented of that which he had done and wrote 9  
to the people of Nahrawān (calling them) to fight Mu'āwiyah  
and asking them to rejoin him.

The letter of (Alī to the people of Nahrawān. 12

From the Prince of the faithful (Alī b. Abī Tālib  
to Zayd b. Ḥiṣn <sup>(1)</sup>, (Abdullāh b. Wahb ar-Rāsibī and the  
Muslims with them: "In reference to you, I praise God, 15  
the One! To begin: The two arbiters have abandoned  
the Book of God and judged against that which has been  
revealed. Thus God and His Prophet have abandoned them. 18  
I have also abandoned them. Now let us agree and return  
to fulfil that which you have demanded from me till God,

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(1)

The name of this man was given before as Zayd b. Ḥuṣayn.  
The two variations of Ḥiṣn and Ḥuṣayn occur also in  
Ṭabarī: See Index under "Zayd b. Ḥuṣayn".

Who is the best judge, decides between us and our enemy. 1  
 Let us meet in Najrān (?) if God wills".

They answered this letter with one at the beginning 3  
 of which they mentioned (Abdullāh b. Wahb ar-Rāsibī. It  
 reads as follows: "In the name of God, the Compassionate,  
 the Merciful! (F. 99b). From the Imam of the Muslims 6  
 (Abdullāh b. Wahb ar-Rāsibī, and from Zayd b. Ḥisn and the  
 Muslims with them to (Alī b. Abī Tālib, the one who deposed  
 himself. Peace be upon him who follows the right path 9  
 and keeps away from that which causes one to perish.

To begin: We praise God the One. Your letter in  
 which you mention that the two arbiters abandoned the Book 12  
 of God and judged against that which He has revealed has  
 reached us. We have known since the beginning of this  
 matter, thanks to God, that it was not the right thing 15  
 (to do). Your sin in allowing the arbitration (to happen)  
 is greater than the sins of the arbiters. You have pro-  
 posed to return to that which is right, and to agree with 18  
 us as before. We do not reject your repentance. If you  
 are truthful, join the Muslims in obedience to God, His  
 Prophet, and the Imam of the Muslims (Abdullāh b. Wahb ar- 21  
 Rāsibī. We nominated him after we deposed you, because  
 you deserved this from us and we had to act (against you)  
 That is all." 24



The debate between the Muslims and Ibn 'Abbās:

Then 'Alī b. Abī Tālib sent to them 'Abdullāh b. 'Abbās who asked them to rejoin 'Alī. They said to him that 'Alī discarded his title as the Prince of the faithful, and desired the arbitration, throwing away the gown (of the caliphate) which God had bestowed on him. (F. 100 a) In answer to this Ibn 'Abbās said to them that the prophet discarded his title as "the Prophet of God" when concluding an agreement on the cessation of hostilities between him and the polytheists of Quraysh in the year of Ḥudaybiyah. This was after they had said to him, "If we knew that you are the Prophet of God we would not disagree with you". Ibn 'Abbās continued, "As to that which you have mentioned about the arbitration and that it is not permissible, God has said, 'O you who believe! Do not kill game while you are on pilgrimage, and whoever among you shall kill it intentionally, the compensation (for it) is the like of what he killed, from the cattle, as two just persons among you shall judge, as an offering to be brought to the Ka'bah ...' (Q. 5, 95). God also has said, 'And if you fear a breach between the two (the husband and the wife) then appoint a judge from his people and a judge from her people; if they both desire agreement, God will effect harmony between them'. (Q. 4, 35).



They said, "We have listened to you and heard the message with which you have been sent and your arguments. By God, listen to our arguments and judge between us and him who has sent you".

Ibn 'Abbās said, "By God, I will".

They said, "Is the one who kills the game while he is on pilgrimage allowed to require the arbitration of one who does not forbid such a deed?"

Ibn 'Abbās said, "No".

They said, "How then did 'Alī accept as arbiter on a matter of religion someone who considers it lawful to shed the blood of Muslims, an act which God has forbidden, and one who considers it unlawful to fight the transgressing group and those who entered into allegiance to the enemies of God and His Prophet?"

Even if the arbitration (in principle) were right, 'Alī had gone out of the right path by accepting as arbiters on a question of the religion of God those who believe in something else, by allowing the killing of the believers and entering into allegiance to the enemies of God and His Prophet.

As regards Abū Mūsā, was he not a doubtful man? And did he not consider it unlawful to fight the transgressing group and discouraged the people from fighting?"

Ibn 'Abbās said "Yes".

They said, "How then could 'Alī appoint such a man 1  
as arbiter? In doing this, he is like a man who accep-  
ted the judgement (on the value) of game killed in the 3  
Haram, from someone who permits such a deed.

(F. 101 a) And did not 'Amr b. ul-'Āṣ consider the shedding 6  
of the blood of the believers a lawful act, and considered  
it unlawful to fight those who revolted against the Muslims?  
Did he not join the enemies of God and the Muslims?

Ibn 'Abbās said, "O yes! You have disagreed with 9  
'Alī because of this, and you are right". They continued,  
"As regards the Qur'anic verse, 'And if you fear a breach  
between the two (the husband and the wife), then appoint 12  
a judge from his people and a judge from her people; if  
they both desire agreement, God will effect harmony  
between them", suppose that there is a Muslim who is 15  
married to a Jewess or a Christian girl, and some trouble  
arises between them, is it lawful in such case to invite  
the Jews and the Christians to judge according to the laws 18  
of the believers in which they do not believe?"

Ibn 'Abbās said, "No".

They said, "Then how could 'Alī accept the arbitration 21  
of 'Amr b. ul-'Āṣ who allowed the shedding of the blood of  
the Muslims, forbidden by God to be shed, and who joined  
our enemies?" 24

"As regards the armistice between the Prophet and the  
unbelievers which you have quoted against us, the



permissibility of concluding such agreement was abrogated, at a later time. In the same way, the Qiblah was the mosque of Jerusalem then it was replaced by the Ka'bah. (F. 101 b.) Wine was allowed at the beginning then forbidden later. (Other examples of abrogated things are given).

In the Barā'ah, God forbade the Prophet to conclude any agreement with the unbelievers. He said, '(This is a declaration of) immunity by God and His Prophet towards those of the idolators with whom you made an agreement. So go about in the land for four months and know that you cannot weaken God and that God will bring disgrace to the unbelievers. And an announcement from God and His Prophet to the people on the day of the greater pilgrimage that God and His Prophet are free from liability to the idolators; therefore if you repent, it will be better for you, and if you turn back, then know that you will not weaken God; and announce painful chastisement to those who disbelieve - Except those of the idolators with whom you made an agreement, then they have not failed you in anything and have not backed up anyone against you, so fulfil their agreement to the end of their term: surely God loves those who are careful of their duty. So when the sacred months have passed away, then slay the idolators wherever you find them and take them captives and besiege them and lie in wait for them



in every ambush, (F. 102a ) then if they repent and keep 1  
 up prayer and pay the poor-rate, leave their way free to  
 them; surely God is forgiving, merciful. And if one 3  
 of the idolators seek protection from you, grant him  
 protection till he hears the word of God, then make him  
 attain his place of safety; this is because they are a 6  
 people who do not know! (Q. 9, 1-6).

Thus the Barā'ah directed the breaking of every  
 treaty with the idolators and forbade the Prophet to grant 9  
 them any security, except from those who may seek protec-  
 tion from him so that they may hear the word of God.  
 The Almighty also has said, 'O you who believe! The 12  
 idolators are nothing but unclean, so they shall not  
 approach the Sacred Mosque after this year'. (Q. 9, 28).

After God had forbidden His Prophet to conclude any 15  
 agreement with the polytheists, and made such a deed  
 unlawful in Barā'ah, no one was allowed to do so. What  
 can your man say about this? If he still holds the 18  
 concluding of agreements with the unbelievers a permiss-  
 ible act, then let him take the mosque of Jerusalem for  
 his qiblah, and follow all the laws which have been 21  
 abrogated.

O Ibn 'Abbās! Do not you think now that the case (1)

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(1)

The Prophet's agreement with the unbelievers.

which your man has quoted as an argument against us is 1  
no more permissible?"

Ibn 'Abbās said, "Yes". 3

They continued, "O Ibn 'Abbās! Do you know that  
God has said in His Book, '(As for) the fornicatress and  
the fornicator, flog each of them (giving) a hundred 6  
stripes, and let not pity for them detain you in the  
matter of obedience to God ....' (Q. 24, 2). and (F.102b.)  
'As for the man who steals and the woman who steals, cut 9  
off their hands as a punishment for what they have earned,  
an exemplary punishment from God' (Q. 5, 38) ?"

Ibn 'Abbās said, "Yes". 12

They continued, "Do you know that fighting the  
transgressing group is one of the (ḥudūd) of God which  
He has taught His servants, as He taught them the flog- 15  
ging of the fornicatress and the fornicator and cutting  
off the hand of the thief?"

Ibn 'Abbās said "Yes". 18

They said, "Suppose that there is a man who committed  
fornication or a man who committed robbery and his theft  
was proved. The Imam of the Muslims wanted to impose on 21  
him the punishment specified for theft, but he refused to  
submit to the command of God and a group of the Muslims  
rose to defend him from having this punishment imposed 24  
on him, and thus the thief became secure among them.



Is it not lawful for the Muslims to fight those people?" 1

Ibn 'Abbās said, "Yes".

They continued, "Suppose that the Muslims fought 3  
them till victims fell on both sides, then they proposed  
to the Muslims to appoint an arbiter on their side to  
arbitrate with an arbiter appointed by them, and to 6  
accept whatever judgement the arbiters might arrive at,  
would it be lawful for the Muslims to accept this from  
them? And if they judged unjustly and directed the 9  
abandonment of the 'ḥudūd', would it be right for the  
Muslims to agree to this, and to consider it unlawful  
to fight those who abandoned the 'ḥudūd' and held fast 12  
to this?"

Ibn 'Abbās said that the Muslims are not allowed  
to do so. 15

They said, "Then, how can we arbitrate on the  
religion of God with someone who believes in the aban-  
donment of the 'ḥudūd', and consider it unlawful to 18  
fight the transgressing party while, fighting them is  
one of the 'ḥudūd' of God like His commands concerning  
the thief and the fornicator. Man has no choice in 21  
anything about which God has given judgement. Almighty  
God has said, 'And judge between them by what God has  
revealed, and do not follow their low desires ....., 24  
but if they turn back, then know that God desires to  
afflict them on account of some of their faults; and



most surely many of the people are transgressors. Is 1  
 it then the judgement of (the times of) ignorance that  
 they desire? and who is better than God to judge for a 3  
 people who are sure?' (Q. 5, 49-50). God also has said,  
 'Shall I then seek a judge other than God? and He it is  
 who has revealed to you the Book which is made plain'. 6  
 (Q. 6, 115). He also said, 'Judgement belongs to God  
 alone; He has commanded that you shall not serve aught  
 but Him; this is the right religion but most people do 9  
 not know'. (Q. 12, 40). In a case on which there is no  
 judgement in the Qur'ān or the Sunnah, judgement belongs  
 to the just Muslims. But in a case on which God has 12  
 given judgement man has no choice, as He said, 'And it  
 behoves not a believing man and a believing woman that  
 they should have any choice in their matter when God and 15  
 His Prophet have decided a matter; and whoever disobeys  
 God and His Prophet, he surely strays a manifest straying'.  
 (Q. 33, 36). He also said, 'But no! by your Lord! they 18  
 do not believe (in reality) until they make you a judge  
 of that which has become a matter of disagreement among  
 them, and then do not find any straightness in their 21  
 hearts as to what you have decided and submit with entire  
 submission.' (Q. 6, 65).

Then how can one who abandoned the judgement of God 1  
and His Prophet and refused to submit to it, give judgement  
on a matter of the religion of God? 3

( 103b.) Mu'āwiyah and 'Amr b. ul-'As refused to submit  
to the judgement of God and His Prophet. If they had done  
so, then resorted afterwards to the command of God and 6  
returned to the religion of the Muslims, it would have been  
our duty to accept this from them, and to renew friendship  
with them ( نَتَوَلَّاهُمْ ) as God has ordered us to fight the 9  
transgressors till they comply with God's command. But  
to appoint men to give judgement on something which has  
already been decided by God and to accept the judgement 12  
of men, even if it contradicted that of God, is something  
which we cannot allow.

O Ibn 'Abbās ! Did you not know that among the 15  
conditions between 'Alī and Mu'āwiyah, one stipulates that  
if one of the followers of 'Alī committed a sin then  
entered into allegiance to Mu'āwiyah 'Alī would not have 18  
the right to impose the punishment specified for this sin  
on him, and the same applies to a follower of Mu'āwiyah  
who joins 'Alī ? 21

(F. 104a) How then can it be correct to follow the  
religion of a people who have undertaken not to punish a  
sinner from among them, because he fled from the judgement 24  
of God in his case and escaped punishment by saying that  
he joined Mu'āwiyah ?



Or how can it be correct to enter into allegiance 1  
to a man who dismissed himself from the rule of the Muslims  
and did not repent of this nor of the other deeds we have 3  
mentioned ?

Did not you say that 'Alī fought Ṭalhah and Zubayr  
in compliance with the command of the Book of God which 6  
directed the fighting of the transgressors?

And did not 'Ammār b. Yāsir and the Muslims who  
accompanied him fight at Ṣiffīn, till they were killed, 9  
practising the principle of "Amr bi 'l-Ma'rūf and  
Nahy 'an al-Munkar," and that of fighting the transgressors  
till they comply with God's command? 12

Did not 'Alī by accepting the arbitration consider  
it unlawful to fight Mu'āwiyah and his army till the  
arbiters gave their judgement, notwithstanding that fight- 15  
ing was declared lawful by God? Did 'Alī do this because  
Mu'āwiyah and his army repented and re-embraced Islam?

Ibn 'Abbās said that 'Alī considered it unlawful 18  
to fight them because of the pledge he had given them  
(F. 104b) and not on account of their repentance and re-  
embracing Islam. 21

They said that by this, 'Alī had made fighting with  
them unlawful while they were in the same state for which  
they deserved to be fought with, in compliance with the 24  
command of God. Thus your man considers those who still



stick to the command of God (1) and the Sunnah of the 1  
 Prophet, and fight those whom 'Ammār (b.Yāsir) and the  
 Muslims with him had fought, as unbelievers. And how 3  
 can 'Ammār be considered as a rightly guided man while  
 those who follow his example are wrong-doers? If  
 'Ammār's fighting against the party of Mu'āwiyah were 6  
 right, then those who followed his example after his  
 death are right; and if it were wrong, then 'Alī and  
 his followers must have gone astray for giving consent 9  
 to this fighting.

And how was it lawful to fight Ṭalhah, and Zubayr  
 who were better than Mu'āwiyah and to refrain from 12  
 fighting Mu'āwiyah while he still adheres to the religion  
 of Ṭalhah and Zubayr for which they deserved to be fought  
 with. 15

This is what we know of the mistakes of 'Alī, and  
 his deviation from the right path.

(F. 105a) Ibn 'Abbās left them fully convinced by their 18  
 opinions, and acknowledging that they had refuted his  
 arguments. On his return, 'Alī took him aside and heard  
 the arguments of the Khārījīs, which he did not want to 21  
 become known to his followers. He asked Ibn 'Abbās to  
 help him in fighting the Khawārij but the latter refrained.

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(1) The Khārījīs are those meant by this.

(F.105b) The killing of the people of Nahrawān, 1  
may God have mercy on and be satisfied  
with them. 3

(Alī marched on them with the Rāfīdah, the Kūfīs,  
 and the bad people, while they were leaving him alone  
 and appealing to him in the name of God to leave them 6  
 alone with their religion and to refrain from shedding  
 their blood. They did not like to start war against  
 him till he started it. On that day, 4,000 of the best 9  
 companions of the Prophet were killed, among whom were  
 seventy of the Muslims who fought in Badr and four hundred  
 men called as-Sawārī, who were never missing from the 12  
 company of the Prophet. Hurqūs b. Zuhayr who was attested  
 to be one of the people of Paradise, by the Prophet,  
 was killed. (1) 15

(Alī regretted what he had done. He walked among  
 the corpses and prayed for them and said, "What a bad deed  
 we have done! We have killed the best and most learned 18  
 among us".

(Alī did not accept the judgement of the arbiters,  
 while if the arbitration had been right he should have 21  
 accepted its result and fulfilled the agreement (between  
 him and Mu'awiyah).

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(1) This man is highly praised by Qalḥātī. Other  
 important people who were killed in the battle  
 are also mentioned.

Thus he was not satisfied with those whom he 1.  
 accepted as arbiters nor with those who advised him  
 against the arbitration. He remained abandoned till 3  
 he was killed six years after his nomination as a caliph.

The killing of 'Alī b. Abī Tālib.

Thus having been dismissed from authority, God 6  
 decreed for him (Abd ar-Rahmān b. Muljam al-Murādī,  
 who stabbed 'Alī at the door of his house. About Ibn 9  
 Muljam, (Imrān b. Hattān says:-

"O what a stroke from a pious man by which  
 he did not mean 12  
 Anything except to acquire the satisfaction  
 of God  
 Whenever I remember him I think of him 15  
 as The one whose merits outweigh all creation"



APPENDIX C.

Some Sources for the Study  
of the KHĀRIJĪ Sects  
mentioned by ABU 'l-MA'ĀLĪ.

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APPENDIX C.

Some sources for the study of the Khariji sects mentioned by Abu 'l-Ma'ālī.

The following are the sources used and the abbreviated forms by which reference is made to them:-

Ash'arī: Maqālāt (Ash.)

Mubarrad: Kāmil (Mub.)

Maqdisī: Bad' (Maqd.)

Malatī: at-Tanbīh wa 'r-Radd 'alā Ahl al-Ahwā' (Mal.)

Khuwārizmī: Mafātīh (Kh.)

Baghdādī: Farq (Bag.)

Ibn Hazm: Fīṣal (I.H.)

Shahrastānī: Milal (Shahr.)

Fakhr ud-Dīn ar-Rāzī: I'tiqādāt Fīraq ul-Muslimīn (Fakhr)

Murtazā Rāzī: Tabṣirat (Mur.)

Qalhatī: al-Kashf wa 'l-Bayān (Qal.)

Maqrīzī: Khitāṭ (Maqr.)

If no page is mentioned the reference is to the index of the book mentioned.

1. The Azraqīs: Ash.; Mub.; Maqd., V, 138; Mal., 41, 135, 142; Bag., 62; I.H., IV, 189; Shahr., 89; Fakhr, 46; Mur., 38, 40; Qal., f. 197a; Maqr., II, 354.
2. The Najdīs: Ash.; Mub.; Maqd., V, 139; Mal., 42, 136; Bag., 66; I.H., IV, 190; Shahr., 91; Fakhr., 47; Mur., 39; Qal., f. 199b.; Maqr., II, 354.

3. The 'Ajrādīs: Ash., 93-100; Maqd., V, 138; Mal., 136; Bag., 72; I.H., IV, 191; Shahr., 95; Fakhr., 47; Mur., 38, 40, 41; Qal., f.202a; Maqr., II, 354.
4. The Khāzimīs: Ash. 96; Maqd., V, 134; Bag., 73; Shahr., 97; Fakhr., 49; Mur., 43; Qal. f.203b; Maqr., II, 355.
5. The Tha'labīs: Ash.; Maqd., 135; Mal.; Bag., 80; Shahr., 98; Fakhr., 49; Qal., f.203a.
6. The Jarūdīs: This sect has been given in the first list of Abu 'l-Ma'ālī as the Harūrīs. The Harūrīs was one of the names by which all the Khārijīs were known. But it was also given to a Kharijī sect which was mentioned by Malatī (d.377 A.H.) He attributes to them some peculiar ritual practices. He states that there were many of them in Sijistān, Harāt and Khurāsān. He describes them as having been courageous fighters.<sup>(1)</sup>
7. The Sufūrīs: Ash.; Maqd., V, 134; Mal., 42, 135; Bag., 70; I.H., IV, 190; Shahr., 102; Fakhr., 51; Mur., 38, 39, 40; Qal., f.202b; Maqr., II, 354.
8. The Ibādīs: Ash.; Mub.; Maqd., 138; Mal., 42, 136; Kh., 25; Bag., 82; I.H., IV, 188; Shahr., 100; Fakhr., 51; Mur., 39, 42; Qal., f.224a; (Information about them is also scattered through the theological part of this book); Maqr., II, 355.
9. The Hafsīs: Ash., 102-3; Kh., 25; Bag., 83; I.H., IV, 191; Shahr., 101; Fakhr., 51; Qal., f.203a; Maqr., II, 355.
10. The Bayhasīs: Ash.; Mub.; Maqd., V, 138; Mal., 137; Kh., 25; I.H., IV, 190; Shahr., 93; Fakhr., 47; Mur., 42; Qal., f.201a; Maqr., II, 355.
11. The Yazīdīs: Ash., 103; Kh., 25; Bag., 263; Shahr., 101; Maqr., II, 355.

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(1) Malatī: at-Tambih wa 'r-Radd 'alā Ahl al-Ahwā, p.42, 43, Istanbul, 1936.



12.    The Shamrākīs:    Ash.; Mal.,136; Kh.,25; Mur.,43;  
Maqr.,II,355.
13.    The Fadlīs:        Ash.; Mal.,136; Kh.,25; Maqr.,II,355.
14.    The Dahhākīs:      Ash.,111; Mal.; Kh.,25; Mur.,42;  
Maqr.,II,355.
15.    The Bida'īs:        Ash.,119,126; Maqd.,V,138; Kh.,25.

APPENDIX D.

THE SŪFĪS

According to Other Heresiographers.

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APPENDIX D.

## THE SŪFĪS

according to other Heresiographers.

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Our author is one of the earliest writers on religious sects who mentioned the Sūfīs among these sects. They appear in his list of the 73 Muslim sects, but unfortunately his discussion of them is missing from the text. He classified them into two sects, the Nūrīs and the Hulūlīs. It may be useful to write a note on the sects of the Sūfīs according to other heresiographers:

Fakhr ud-Dīn ar-Rāzī (d.606 A.H.) classified them in six groups:-

1. Aṣḥāb ul-Ādāt: those who cared for the outward appearance and whose aim was to look pious by wearing rags and spreading the prayer carpet.
2. Aṣḥāb ul-Ibādāt: those whose work was devotion to and worship of God and who abandoned everything else.
3. Aṣḥāb ul-Haqīqah (the followers of the truth): who performed only the obligatory prayers. Apart from these they did not perform any supererogatory prayer but they devoted their time to meditating on God and trying to liberate their souls from the bonds of their bodies. They endeavoured to keep God in their minds all the time.



4. The Nūrīs: they were a group who said that the veils are of two kinds, one of them is a "veil of light" and the other is a "veil of fire". Those endeavouring to attain the praiseworthy qualities such as relying on God, submitting one's will to Him, longing for Him, yearning for Him and seeking for Him, are under a veil of light. But, those devoting themselves to passions, anger, ambition and hope are under a veil of fire. These qualities are fiery qualities. As Iblīs was of fire, he fell into envy.
5. The Hulūlīs: who alleged that God was incarnate in them or that they were united with Him.
6. The Mubāhīs: who claimed to be in love with God. They did not follow the divine law and said that the "Lover" had exempted them from religious obligations.<sup>(1)</sup>

Murtazā Rāzī, the Imāmī Shī'ī writer who wrote a short time after Fakhr ud-Dīn, (600-650) devoted two chapters to the Sūfīs. He considered them as Sunnīs and adopted a hostile attitude towards them. He classified them in six groups, some of which are the same as those given by Fakhr ud-Dīn ar-Rāzī:

1. Those who believed themselves to be united with God.<sup>(2)</sup>  
(No. 5, Fakhr ud-Dīn).

1. Fakhr ud-Dīn ar-Rāzī: I'tiqādāt firaq ul-Muslimīn, p.72-74.
2. Tabsirat ul-'awāmm, p.122.

2. The Lovers (Ushshāq) who attacked the prophets on account of the religious obligations which they had imposed on the people. They considered these religious obligations as obstacles which prevented people from being devoted to God alone, and they were in favour of abandoning them.<sup>(1)</sup> They seem to correspond with (No.6 Fakhr ud-Dīn).
3. The Nūrīs: (No.4, Fakhr ud-Dīn). Murtazā attacks them on account of their high principle in which they held that devotion was not a means to attaining Paradise or escaping Hell, but it was, itself, an end.<sup>(2)</sup>
4. The Wāsilīs (those who arrived). They stated that they reached God. Religious obligations such as prayer, fast, pilgrimage are only a means of purifying man's character so that he may know God. When he attains this knowledge, then he is a "Wāsil" (one who has arrived at or reached God). The "Wāsil" is exempted from all religious obligations. Murtazā Rāzī, moreover, accuses them of allowing forbidden things such as wine-drinking, fornication, sodomy.<sup>(3)</sup>
5. A group of them who held that knowing God is attained by striving and by instruction of the "Shaykh". Learning

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(1) Ibid, 128.

(2) Ibid, 130.

(3) Ibid, 131.

from books and all kinds of ordinary studies are of no use according to them.<sup>(1)</sup>

6. The sixth group of them (No.1, Fakhr ud-Dīn). Murtazā Rāzī states that they travelled all the time seeking food. According to him they had neither knowledge nor religion and their only subject of conversation was, "In such and such 'Khānqāh'<sup>(2)</sup> they make good food".<sup>(3)</sup>

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(1) Ibid, 132.

(2) A monastery for Sūfīs or Darwishes

(3) Ibid, 132.



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